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THE VENEZUELA AFFAIR AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

BY A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT.

IT is possible, if not probable, that the unavowed purpose of the British, German, and Italian Governments in their undertaking to enforce certain claims against Venezuela by acts of war, was to ascertain whether the American people would uphold the definition of the Monroe Doctrine set forth by President Roosevelt in his last Annual Message. That is to say, would they uphold the principle that a European Government has the right, not only to inflict exemplary damages on an American republic for insults to its flag or to its official representatives, or for wrongs perpetrated on its subjects, but also to resort to the same process of violent coercion for the collection of ordinary debts,—by which are meant debts that are the outcome of absolute freedom of contract—and to confiscate for the payment thereof the customs revenue of an American republic for an indefinite period? That is the fundamental and momentous question upon which the outcome of the Venezuela imbroglio will be likely to throw some light. It is well understood in the British and German Foreign Offices that a definition of the Monroe Doctrine formulated by our Chief Magistrate does not bind the United States until it has been ratified by both Houses of Congress, and that no such ratification

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will be made without the distinct approval of the American people. No such approval will be given until the consequences of the new definition shall have been carefully weighed and compared with the text of the declaration put forth in 1823 by President Monroe. In order to further the attainment of clear ideas upon the subject, we shall here point out the purport of the new definition, consider it in all its bearings, and then inquire how far it may be reconciled, in letter and in spirit, with the original Monroe Doctrine. If the two declarations prove irreconcilable, it will be for the American people and their representatives in Congress to determine by which they will abide.

I.

By way of preface, we should first mark what it is that the British, German, and Italian Governments have essayed to do in Venezuela. There has been a good deal of vagueness, not to say dissimulation, in their official utterances on the subject. A spokesman of the British Cabinet declared in the House of Commons that, so far as Great Britain was concerned, the Anglo-German-Italian demonstration against Venezuela was not a debt-collecting, but a punitory, or, rather, reparation-claiming, expedition. Its purpose, he said, was not to enforce the payment of ordinary debts, but to exact redress, hitherto refused, for *wrongs* which British subjects had suffered at the hands of that South-American republic. A similar declaration was made in the Reichstag by Chancellor von Bülow. The facts show, however, that, under the pretext of exacting reparation for wrongs, a secondary, if not the principal, aim of the joint expedition is the enforcement of payment of ordinary debts due from the Government or citizens of Venezuela to British, German, and Italian creditors. If the Governments that have resorted to coercion intended to exclude ordinary debts, they would either name specific sums that would be accepted as damages for wrongs alleged to have been suffered, or they would agree with Venezuela's representative upon some method of determining what would be a reasonable pecuniary indemnity. What they have insisted on, however, is a guarantee for the payment, not only of the damages, to be ascertained hereafter, for wrongs shown to have been committed, but also of ordinary debts due to British, German, and Italian creditors, the precise amount of which debts is to be fixed by a recourse to mixed

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commissions. They demand that thirty per cent. of the customs duties levied at La Guayra and Puerto Cabello shall be paid for an indefinite period to representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, who shall have the right to supervise and audit the collection of the said duties, and to receive their respective proportions of the percentage named. If to damages for wrongs be added ordinary debts due from Government or citizens of Venezuela to subjects of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, and if the aggregate be swollen by the cost of the blockade and of maintaining auditors at the custom-houses mentioned, it is certain that the customs revenue of Venezuela will, to the extent named, be mortgaged to the three allied European Powers for many years.

It is, however, the ultimate consequences of the principle sought to be established, rather than those of its initial application, to which attention should be directed. If thirty per cent. of the customs levied at certain Venezuelan seaports can be sequestrated for the payment of ordinary debts, it follows that the *whole* customs revenue of another South-American republic may be confiscated, if such wholesale confiscation be needed to provide interest and a sinking fund on the debts due to European creditors. In the case of Argentina, for example, the whole customs revenue of that federal republic might be needed to provide interest and a sinking fund for the payment of the colossal indebtedness incurred by its federal and provincial governments, and by its citizens, to British creditors. So long, indeed, as an efficient and an economical administration exists at Buenos Ayres, the pecuniary obligations of Argentina will no doubt be met. Should the Argentine Confederation, however, again become, what it has often been in the past, the theatre of revolution and of anarchy, a default in interest and sinking-fund payments would inevitably occur, and the principle which the allied Powers are now attempting to establish in the case of Venezuela would then be applied on an enormous scale to the Argentine Confederation. There is not, indeed, a single Latin-American republic, with the possible exception of Chile, the customs revenue of which would not, soon or late, be exposed to confiscation, if the American people at this time acquiesce in the assertion of the principle that European Powers are at liberty to collect by force ordinary debts from the commonwealths of Central and of South America.

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II.

To what extent, if any, have the United States acquiesced in the principle of international law that ordinary debts may be collected by force from Latin-American republics? The American people have never had their attention called to the subject, and it remains to be seen what judgment they will pronounce upon it. It has been alleged, indeed, that, on two occasions, antedating the accession of Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency, the American Executive had shown itself disposed to accept the principle. The occasions to which we refer were the joint expedition of Great Britain, Spain, and France against Mexico in 1861, which resulted in the occupation of Vera Cruz; and the seizure of Corinto, a seaport of Nicaragua, by Great Britain in 1885. The facts in both cases, when closely scrutinized, show that our State Department did not then acknowledge that ordinary debts could be collected by acts of war, but simply that *grievances* might be thus redressed, and reparation for *wrongs* be thus exacted.

Let us recall what actually occurred. In October, 1861, the British, Spanish, and French Governments signed a convention at London by which they agreed to demand of Mexico the payment of certain claims, and, if payment were refused, to take possession of Mexican ports and sequestrate the customs for the liquidation of those claims. What were those claims? Were they for ordinary debts, or were they for the reparation due for public wrongs?

The claim of England was based principally on the fact that on November 16, 1860, a party of armed men, obeying the orders of Miramon, then the *de facto* President of Mexico, broke into the house of the British Legation, and, against the protest of the Spanish Minister who happened to be present, and in defiance of the British flag and the seals of the office, rifled the safes of £152,000 belonging to English bondholders, deposited there for safe-keeping. Evidently, it was a national grievance, a public wrong, of which England complained. The complaint of Spain was based upon the fact that in September, 1859, the *de facto* Government of Mexico had concluded a treaty with Spain which recognized the validity of certain claims. Upon the triumph of the Juarez Government, the treaty was repudiated. This was Spain's principal ground of complaint, although she also declared herself aggrieved at the summary dismissal by Juarez of Señor Pacheco, the Spanish Minister. Here, again, we see that no col-

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lection of ordinary debts was contemplated: it was reparation for a national grievance, for a public wrong, that was demanded.

The claim of France was more complicated. Primarily, that Power sought redress for certain wrongs alleged to have been committed by Mexico up to the year 1861. She also proposed, however, to enforce payment of the full face value ($15,000,000) of the iniquitous Jecker bonds, for which the comparatively paltry sum of $750,000 had been paid. Neither England nor Spain ever countenanced the collection of this fraudulent debt, and, when they found that Napoleon III. intended to press it, and also harbored designs of conquest, they recalled their war vessels from Mexican waters, and left Vera Cruz in the exclusive possession of France. The correspondence of our State Department with relation to this subject up to the time when the intentions of Napoleon III. were disclosed, was based on the assumption that the aim of the three allied Powers was not the collection of ordinary debts, whether just or fraudulent, but the redress of *grievances*. Thus Mr. Cass, Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. McLane, our Minister in London, on September 20, 1860:

"We do not deny the right of any other Power to carry on hostile operations against Mexico for the *redress of its grievances*. . . . I have already referred to the extent of the principle of foreign interference which we maintained with regard to Mexico. It is proper to add that, while that principle denies the right of any Power to hold permanent possession of any part of that country, or to endeavor by force to direct or control its political destiny, it does not call in question its right to carry on hostile operations against that Republic for *the redress of any real grievances it may have suffered*."

We observe, next, that, while declining the invitation extended in 1861 by the three allies that the United States should become a party to the London Convention, Mr. Seward said:

"The President does not feel himself at liberty to question, and he does not question, that the sovereigns represented have an undoubted right to decide for themselves the fact whether they had sustained *grievances*, and to resort to war with Mexico for the *redress* thereof."

It is well known that, after the duplicity of Napoleon III. had been exposed, and after the withdrawal of his British and Spanish allies had taken place, no effective opposition to the French Emperor's designs could be offered by our Government, then absorbed in the prosecution of the war for the Union. There is not an

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atom of evidence, however, that our State Department at any time sanctioned the forcible collection of the Jecker claim, any more than it sanctioned the conquest of Mexico and the erection of an empire therein.

We turn to the Corinto case, which, it has been hastily assumed by those not alive to the distinction between grievances or wrongs and ordinary debts, affords a precedent for the acquiescence of our Government in the forcible collection of the latter class of obligations. Here, again, let us review the facts. In the early part of 1885, the British Government was moved to indignation by the arrest and forcible detention by Nicaraguan authorities of Mr. Hatch, the acting British consul, and certain other British subjects in the Mosquito Reservation. To these men a trial was denied, and they were summarily expelled from Nicaraguan territory. Nicaragua alleged that they had instigated riots against her sovereignty in the Mosquito Reservation, but she failed to give the prisoners a hearing before a court of justice. The British Government forthwith presented a claim for $75,000, by way of reparation for the wrong inflicted on British subjects, and, receiving no satisfactory promise of payment from the Nicaraguan authorities, sent a war vessel to the port of Corinto to enforce the demand. Thereupon Nicaragua appealed to the United States; but Mr. Gresham, then Secretary of State, declined to interpose or mediate, and declared that Nicaragua must deal directly with Great Britain. In a telegram, however, of April 24, 1885, addressed to Mr. Bayard, he said:

"The President advises that you say unofficially and confidentially to Lord Kimberley, that, while disclaiming any right to interfere in the pending settlement of the claim for pecuniary *reparation*, compliance with Nicaragua's request for an extension of time of payment would avoid embarrassment to the commerce of this and other countries and be very satisfactory to the United States."

This suggestion was accepted by Lord Kimberley, and the claim was soon after settled. Commenting upon this incident in his Annual Message sent to Congress in December, 1885, President Cleveland said:

"While the sovereignty and jurisdiction of Nicaragua were in no way questioned by Great Britain, the former's *arbitrary conduct in regard to British subjects* furnished the ground for this proceeding."

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III.

Such had been the consistent position of the United States Executive up to December, 1902, with reference to the momentous question whether ordinary debts due, or alleged to be due, from the governments or citizens of Latin-American republics to the subjects of European Powers may be collected by acts of war. Neither explicitly nor by implication had our State Department ever answered the question in the affirmative. It is true, on the other hand, that no negative answer had been given; but that proves nothing, because, with the exception of the pressing of the infamous Jecker claim by France, which was veiled behind a demand for a redress of grievances, and which had ultimately to be renounced, no attempt to enforce the payment of ordinary debts by acts of war directed against a Latin-American republic had been made by any European Government: the seizure of the Chincha Islands by Spain in 1864 was justified by Peru's refusal to grant reparation for the *wrongs* suffered by Spanish residents in the last-named country. Even in Mr. Roosevelt's first Annual Message, sent to Congress in December, 1901, there is no distinct intimation of an opinion that ordinary debts should be placed by us on the same footing as grievances or wrongs, so far as the enforcement of payment by acts of war might be concerned. Mr. Roosevelt said then:

"We do not guarantee any State against punishment if it *misconducts* itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American Power."

By the word "misconduct," the President would naturally be supposed to contemplate the perpetration of what are technically known as "wrongs." According to the usage of international or municipal law, the word would not be properly applicable to an omission to pay ordinary debts. Only in his second Annual Message did Mr. Roosevelt allow himself to use an elastic and ambiguous phrase, which might be presumed to cover ordinary debts as well as grievances or torts. He said:

"No independent nation in America need have the slightest fear of aggression from the United States. It behooves each one to maintain order within its own borders, *and to discharge its just obligations to foreigners.*"

It will be observed that Mr. Roosevelt does not explain how the justness of obligations is to be proved. Must the obligations

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be recognized by the courts of the debtor country; or by an international tribunal; or shall the alleged creditor be judge in his own case? Let us take the most charitable view of Mr. Roosevelt's meaning, and assume that, if he intended the phrase to cover ordinary debts as well as wrongs, what he had in mind was obligations the validity of which had been admitted either by treaty or by the courts of the debtor country. It makes all the difference in the world, first, whether the recognized obligations were for sums of money acknowledged to be due by way of reparation for *wrongs,* or whether they were ordinary debts; and, secondly, whether the recognition was embodied in a treaty or in a decision of a court of the debtor country. If the obligation were of the nature of a penalty incurred for an international tort, we could not dispute the right of the aggrieved nation to exact the penalty by acts of war. The penalty, indeed, may be exacted whether or not the commission of the offence is acknowledged by the offending party, provided, of course, the charge be not notoriously trumped up, and put forward as a mere pretext for aggression. Even an ordinary debt, if a promise to pay it is incorporated in a treaty, may furnish a *casus belli,* for the repudiation of a treaty is a cause for war.

The pivotal question is presented by ordinary debts the validity of which has been certified by the courts of the debtor country, but which the debtor has failed to pay. Did or did not Mr. Roosevelt mean to say by the words ("*just obligations*") which we have quoted from his second Annual Message, that debts of the kind last mentioned are collectable by acts of war? Apparently, that is what the British, German, and Italian Governments have undertaken to find out by their joint demonstration against Venezuela; or, rather, they have gone further, and propose to extort by coercion the payment even of those ordinary debts upon which no judgment has yet been obtained from Venezuelan courts. If, by a loose or inadvertent use of the phrase "just obligations," Mr. Roosevelt did not mean to assert that ordinary debts are collectable by acts of war, but only intended to say that such a process of coercion might be invoked for the enforcement of penalties or reparations for grievances or wrongs, he had but to make such an explanation of his ambiguous language from the outset of the Anglo-German-Italian demonstration, and the Venezuela incident would doubtless have been quickly closed. The allied Powers

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would simply have needed to specify the grievances or wrongs of which they complained, and to indicate the sums of money which, in their opinion, would constitute a fair reparation. If the amounts named seemed reasonable to our State Department, it would have played the part of a friend by counselling the Caracas Government to pay them: if they seemed grossly unreasonable, a suggestion that they be referred to arbitration would, doubtless, have been accepted by all parties.

Here we may observe that a part of the French claims have been liquidated and embodied in a treaty. From the moment that Venezuela failed to comply with the terms of the payment agreed upon in that document, France unquestionably had a *casus belli* against that republic, for such a repudiation of treaty rights is a ground for war. Far from availing herself, however, of this valid excuse for co-operating in the Anglo-German-Italian demonstration, France has refrained from putting any violent coercion on her debtor, and has confined herself to asserting that, if any sequestration of Venezuelan customs is to take place, the disputed claims which England, Germany and Italy have sought to enforce by acts of war ought not to take precedence of French claims previously recognized by treaty. If the preference to which France objects should be conceded, it would, obviously, put a premium on war and a discount on pacific negotiations. That is not a state of things desired by enlightened nations.

Mr. Roosevelt has not yet seen fit to explain that he did not include ordinary debts in the "just obligations" which, as he said in his second Annual Message, were collectable by any acts of war that should stop short of the permanent occupation of the debtor's territory. We hope that such an explanation will yet be forthcoming from him, and we are pretty sure that the American people will demand it when they are thoroughly awakened to the danger of allowing European Powers to exact from Latin-American republics the payment of ordinary debts by a "temporary," or "provisional" occupation of seaports, or by the confiscation of customs duties for an indefinite period. We have put the words "temporary" and "provisional" in quotation marks, because those were the soothing phrases applied to the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain. There is no longer any pretence that the promises implied in the adjectives quoted, and explicitly made by Mr. Gladstone on more than one occasion, will ever be per-

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formed. Egypt still retains the semblance of an autonomous government, and not an inch of her soil has been formally annexed to the British Empire: nevertheless, her national revenues have passed into British hands, and, with them, the substance of her independence. May not the people of Egypt justly say to Great Britain: "You control my destiny, when you withhold from me the means of shaping it at my volition. You take my life, when you take the means whereby I live."

IV.

Now, let us see which of two principles is the more reconcilable with the spirit and the letter of the Monroe Doctrine as originally proclaimed; the principle, namely, that the payment of ordinary debts may be enforced by European Powers upon Latin-American republics through acts of war, or the principle that the maxim "*caveat emptor*"—let the purchaser or lender beware—is applicable to all business dealings between the subjects of European Powers and the Governments or citizens of American commonwealths. The official doctrine formulated by Monroe in his seventh Annual Message to Congress sets forth that, with the Latin-American Governments which had declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we had on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of *oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny* by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." There is nothing here about the occupation, temporary or permanent, of American territory. Our objection to such occupation is a logical and an obvious deduction. What Monroe prohibited was any interference by European Powers with American republics for the purpose of *oppressing* them, or *controlling* in any other manner their *destiny*.

Now, when we bear in mind that the bulk, if not the whole, of the revenue required by Latin-American commonwealths for the support of their civil and military administration and for the development of their natural resources, is derived from customs duties, it is manifest that a confiscation of those duties might, and probably would, prove a death-blow. Deprived of the funds on which they had been accustomed to rely, the central and provincial governments would be disqualified for the maintenance

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of order, and a relapse into anarchy would almost certainly ensue. Retaining a nominal independence and shielded from territorial dismemberment, the commonwealths, denuded of their customs revenue, would be mere tributaries of their foreign creditors, and they would soon come to recognize that their position was incomparably worse than that of Egypt, where a large part of the national income is expended by the British mortgagees on the development of the country. In the tragical predicament to which our indifference had consigned them, all clear-headed men in South-American republics would come to regard the Monroe Doctrine as a snare and a curse, and would say to its latest formulator what the Ten Tribes said to Rehoboam: "What part have we in David, or what inheritance in the son of Jesse?" They would infinitely prefer annexation to Great Britain over indefinite continuance in their poverty-stricken autonomy, and they would repudiate the notion that they should refrain from seeking such an amelioration of their lot out of regard to the private interests of the United States. We need not say that, if all or many of the Latin-American republics, enlightened and instigated by far-sighted and resolute citizens, should conceive a desire for annexation to the British, or, for that matter, the German, Empire, we should be powerless to resist the consummation of the wish. Nor could we, without frankly avowing that the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine is a purely selfish one, oppose a preference avowed by a majority of a Latin-American nation for the status of a British or German colony over that of merely ostensible independence.

Already it is perfectly clear to intelligent Peruvians that their country would be better off as a British colony than it is to-day, and, were the customs revenue of Peru to be sequestrated for the benefit of foreign creditors, the opinion would quickly be shared by the mass of the population. Order and prosperity have greater charms than anarchy and poverty, and, sooner or later, if we sanction the confiscation of their customs revenue for ordinary debts, many of the Latin-American commonwealths will be tempted to exchange a nominal and barren independence for the invigorating rule of a strong, opulent and progressive country like the United Kingdom. By such a move they would have much to gain; whereas, if the Monroe Doctrine is to be henceforth interpreted as sanctioning the confiscation of customs revenue for the payment of ordinary debts, they could only keep their nominal

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autonomy by a sacrifice of the income which is indispensable to their well-being.

V.

Is it not clear, then, that the Monroe Doctrine, whether we construe it by the letter or the spirit, forbids us to tolerate the confiscation of the customs revenue of a Latin-American republic for any purpose except the redress of "grievances" and reparation for "wrongs," it being well understood that the meaning of the words quoted has never comprehended, in the eye of international law, the mere omission to pay ordinary debts. No attempt has ever been made to collect from a strong nation ordinary debts not tainted by *tort* and not acknowledged by a treaty. Of this fact we have had ample proof in the United States. Before the outbreak of our Civil War, the State of Mississippi and the State of Pennsylvania defaulted on their bonds. Considerable quantities of these securities were in the hands of British subjects, but not on that account did the British Government ever dream of extorting payment of the bonds by acts of war. Sydney Smith was one of the bondholders, but he had to pay himself with caustic epigrams coined at our expense. Other British owners of Mississippi and Pennsylvania securities had to content themselves with launching anathemas at all persons and things American. They would have liked, no doubt, to repudiate in their own case the application of the maxim "*caveat emptor*," but no such absurd position was taken by the British Government. When, however, the helpless Khedive of Egypt failed to provide the interest and sinking fund due on bonds held in France and England, the British and French Governments declined to regard their subjects as bound by the maxim "*caveat emptor*," and proceeded to place the Egyptian revenues in the hands of a receiver, the Board of Joint Control, which managed them for the benefit of foreign creditors. The American people have always assumed that the maxim named applies to foreign investors in government securities and in private speculative ventures, so far as our own country is concerned. We have not, indeed, explicitly recognized that our sister American republics are entitled to the benefit of the same maxim, but not for a moment have we supposed that European nations would attempt to follow the Egyptian precedent on this side of the Atlantic. Nor has there ever been, as we have seen, any trace of an official intimation on the part of our Executive

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that such a course would be permitted by us until, in his second Annual Message, Mr. Roosevelt announced that European Powers might go to any lengths, short of the permanent occupation of territory, in enforcing the payment of "just obligations" on American republics. Whether the term "just obligations" covers ordinary debts is the very thing which the British-German-Italian alliance has undertaken to find out.

Thus far, not a word of protest has been heard from our State Department against the inclusion of ordinary debts in the claims which are to be guaranteed by the confiscation of a percentage of Venezuela's customs revenue. Apparently, the Roosevelt Administration imagines that it has performed its whole duty to our sister republics and to the United States when it is able to chronicle the assurance received from the Foreign Offices of London, Berlin and Rome, that the allied Powers had no intention of occupying Venezuelan territory. If the American people believe that thereby our State Department has exhausted its duty in the premises, we have written this article in vain. There should be no attempt, however, henceforward, to disguise the truth. Mr. Roosevelt should frankly acknowledge what he means by "just obligations," and face the consequences of the new definition which he has given to the Monroe Doctrine. If he deliberately intends to sanction the confiscation of a part of Venezuela's customs revenue for the payment of ordinary debts, he cannot hereafter refuse to authorize the confiscation of the whole of Argentina's for a similar purpose. Let him, then, confide the whole scope of his intentions to his countrymen without delay. He is not the man to palter and use words in a double sense, when the importance of an unambiguous deliverance is brought home to him. For many Latin-American republics there is no loophole of escape from the fate of Egypt, except through the rigorous application of the maxim "*caveat emptor*" to ordinary debts. If Mr. Roosevelt desires to deprive them of that loophole, let him say so boldly, and appeal to the verdict of his fellow-citizens.

We, personally, doubt whether President Roosevelt inserted the phrase "just obligations" in the second Annual Message from which we have quoted it. We believe that, if he did so, it was through inadvertence, and without a suspicion that the foreign creditors of Venezuela would endeavor so to construe the phrase

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as to make it include, not only penalties and reparations for technical "wrongs," but also ordinary debts. We do not believe that, in any of the negotiations between our State Department and the Foreign Offices of London, Berlin and Rome, he has ever deliberately authorized such an interpretation of his words. We do not believe, in fine, that he intended a new definition of the Monroe Doctrine. If such, indeed, was his intent, he is a man too straightforward and unflinching to dissemble it or extenuate it. He will let his countrymen know whether he means, or does not mean, that henceforward, as in the past, the European creditors of the Governments or citizens of Latin-American republics must be governed by the maxim "*caveat emptor*," as regards the collection of ordinary debts.

VI.

We scarcely need say that Latin-Americans prefer the Monroe Doctrine, as originally formulated, to any new version of it that should authorize foreign creditors to sequestrate their customs duties for the payment of ordinary debts. They hold that they would be "oppressed," and that their "destiny" would be materially "controlled," if the customs revenue on which their Governments mainly rely for support could thus be confiscated. Most of them accept the theory propounded by Señor Calvo, that, so far as ordinary debts are concerned, foreign creditors, in the event of a default of payment, should be relegated for their remedy to the courts of the debtor country exclusively, and that an enforcement of payment should not be attempted by diplomatic pressure, much less by acts of war. They argue that, if such a rule as Señor Calvo advocates were made operative everywhere on this side of the Atlantic—it is already operative in the case of the United States, for nobody would try to coerce us—no serious loss would be experienced by foreign creditors. For two reasons. In the first place, foreigners would purchase bonds, or make other investments, in Latin-American countries with their eyes wide open to the risks of the speculation: in the second place, no Latin-American republic, alive to its own permanent interests, would impair its credit by repudiating for itself or for its citizens obligations which it acknowledged to be just, and which it could afford to pay. On the other hand, flagrant swindles, like the Jecker bonds, or the Weil and La Abra claims, would be exposed and denounced in the courts of the debtor country.

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It is unquestionably true that, if President Roosevelt should determine that fidelity to the letter and spirit of the Monroe Doctrine would require him to protest against attempts on the part of European Powers to enforce by acts of war upon Latin-American commonwealths the payment of ordinary debts—that is to say, debts accruing, or alleged to have accrued, under absolute freedom of contract—he would feel it to be his duty, as a matter of decorum and consistency, to impose a similar rule upon our State Department. Unfortunately, it is undeniable that the power and influence of our Federal Executive have more than once been employed to extort from our sister American republics the payment, not only of ordinary debts acknowledged to be valid, but also of claims known from the outset to be questionable, and subsequently proved to be fraudulent. All honest Americans deplore the pressure that was at one time brought to bear by our State Department to compel Mexico to acknowledge and pay the notorious Weil and La Abra claims. There is reason to believe that claims, almost equally indefensible, against Hayti and Dominica have at times received diplomatic support from the United States. If we purpose to go into an international court on behalf of our Latin-American friends, and to demand the application of the maxim "*caveat emptor*," we must do so with clean hands. Our State Department must refrain, hereafter, from assisting our native creditors in the collection of ordinary debts from the Governments or citizens of Latin-American Commonwealths. In the case of Latin-American Republics, as in the case of Great Britain, France or Germany, American creditors must content themselves with an appeal to the courts of the debtor country, and then, with a clear conscience, we can insist that European creditors shall be relegated to the same remedy.

This is, as we have said, the logical, the practical and the equitable interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, as it was originally formulated. It remains to be seen whether this construction will commend itself to the good sense, the foresight and the sympathies of the American people.

A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT.

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SANITY IN FICTION.

BY HAMLIN GARLAND.

In no department of American literature have the dictates of the democratic masses been more absolute than in our fiction. Seventy years ago, there were but a handful of novels in all America. To-day there are millions. We not only consume all that our own busy writers produce, but devour hundreds of others imported from the Old World.

This enormous multiplication of a form of literature once tabooed, is not a matter of chance, a mere surface indication; its implications go deep. In studying recent fiction, the investigator is met by a number of serious questions. Is it about to absorb all other forms of literature? Is it to continue to amuse merely, or is it to become the chief means of instructing our people? Is it to be superseded by some form of drama? And, above all, is it to follow the lead of the newspaper, growing each day more ephemeral, dealing only with the exceptional, the morbid, the criminal?

It is of no avail to assail the proprietor of a newspaper, the manager of a theatre or the publisher of books who responds to the demand for sensationalism; in fact, I even doubt the efficacy of assailing "the public." But a discussion of the subject, a presentation of aims and ideals which are neither sensational nor ephemeral, may be of value to the reader, and may, possibly, influence the young writer, who has been dazzled and perhaps a bit bewildered by the sublimation of the shilling shocker and its amazing vogue.

Herr Nordau, who sins deplorably against his own laws, has nevertheless arrayed so well the charges against the prevalent forms of fiction that I cannot do better than quote him:

"The literature of fiction is an enormous collection of tales of disease. Novels and plays in the highest forms have the same propensity

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as the newspapers; they devote themselves to the exceptions and exaggerations. . . . The ordinary peaceful crowds of human beings who are neither specially good nor specially bad, who support themselves honestly and leave a will when they die, and upon whose busy life the sun shines all over the broad earth, these are not the human beings whom fiction portrays. Why is it that all fiction, the naturalistic as well as the rest, devotes itself exclusively to the portrayal of morbid or exceptional cases?"

The chief reason is in the quality of the reader. The democrat of our day is on the lookout for sensations. The circumstances under which he lives ordinarily are so familiar or so distasteful that he fails to perceive their value, their interest. It is the blue distance which enchants and allures. He demands a fiction of the unusual, the far-off, the grandiose, something outside his own life, something to thrill, to excite. This is the general statement, but there are modifications. It is not necessary in all cases that the circumstances and incidents described be unfamiliar, and strange; it is only necessary that they present a contrast, that they arouse emotion. The differences which have sprung up in the social life of the United States are now so broad, so deep, that the keenest delight often arises from the presentation of the scenes of a previous life. The old homestead is now sweetened and made fragrant by contrast with the tumult of our great cities, and yet even in this case the poetry springs from distance. The near at hand remains squalid and prosaic.

There is a still more suggestive fact connected with this thought. It is not always necessary that the scene or people be associated with the past life of the reader, nor that it be strange (though that is true and opens a vast field for the production of the modern novel); for, through the power of a really great writer, the reader may, in a large degree, live the life depicted no matter how remote. In this way, we may acquire the most intimate knowledge of the real life of the Russian peasant, or understand the yeomen in Yorkshire, and, more important still, we may realize the life of our own widely separated States.

But all these are but limitations of certain types of novels; there is a still higher work for the writer, which Whitman calls "teaching the average man the glory of his daily walk and trade," and this Mr. Howells, the first of our realists, has been able to do. He has interested his readers from the start in scenes and characters near at hand. Detaching individuals from the multi-

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tudes who pass us unnoticed or without significance, he has by some magic been able to transform them, making them typical and absorbing. They were common before, seen (if at all) at an indifferent angle, they are *uncommon* when transferred to his books, and deeply significant. They were only "average facts" on the street; but in this new light, transformed by the wonderful alchemy of his art and his gracious personality, they have become humorous, beautiful, far-reaching. They are important because they *are* average, standing for vast numbers of others closely related.

Mr. Howells, more than any other of our writers, has demonstrated that a public exists for a sane and wholesome novel. In his development can be traced the broadening scope of our literature, and, above all, its deepening humanity—its altruism. But it still remains true that almost all the fiction of America, and indeed of the world, treats of the morbid, the diseased, rather than the healthy, and has been, for the most part, an exotic, formed upon the reigning models of the Old World and absolutely foreign to our average peaceful life.

Mr. Howells's development has been steady and consistent. "Their Wedding Journey" and "A Chance Acquaintance" were hardly more than sketches of travel; but each succeeding book broadened in scope, till, in "The Undiscovered Country," he reached the full stature of a novelist. This beautiful story was easily the finest novel of New England life of its time; but, with the publication of "A Modern Instance," Mr. Howells took his place among the wisest and best of the world's novelists. "Silas Lapham" and "Lemuel Barker" followed, dealing as no other novels had dealt with American social life, and Lowell's predictions concerning "that young man Howells" were fulfilled. From that day to this, he has remained a master spirit in our literature, and a study of his methods of appeal and the success he has had, becomes of prime importance in considering the trend of our fiction. He stands for sound workmanship and for the permanent rather than for the ephemeral. He is a man of unswerving ideals, and remains unmoved by the rush along cheap and easy routes to success.

The American public, speaking generally again, was by no construction ready to receive the new fiction of Mr. Howells, but he found sympathizers nevertheless. In every town, small groups of

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thoughtful readers welcomed "The Undiscovered Country" and "Silas Lapham," recognizing in them harbingers of greater sanity and wider sympathy in the novel, and around him rapidly rose a group of younger men and women who believed in his theories and found his methods congenial. It would be unjust to call them imitators. It is truer to say that, like the group surrounding Cooper, they found their master to their mind.

As we enter the pages of "A Modern Instance" and "A Woman's Reason," we find ourselves in the modern America, dealing with probable characters in their every-day lives. The women do not lament in blank verse, neither do the men woo in oratorical prose. They are very like people we have known, and the problems they face are as real as those which confront us. As some one has said: "You can go and ring the door-bell where they live." Everything improbable is left out. All distempered moralizing and all impertinent comment are cut away. Whatever is distinctive, particular, of the time and place is preserved. Save in the best of Henry James, no such rigidly artistic restraint in fiction has appeared in America.

If we look a little more closely at this modern novel, represented by "A Modern Instance," we discover that the *probable* is made, throughout, the basis of art. Mr. Howells has departed as widely from old ideals as our modern landscape painters, who no longer concern themselves with hypothetical mountains and symmetrically arranged lights and shades, but paint nature as they see it, putting the *effect* upon the canvas, aiming at no expressed moral. Mr. Howells, in much the same fashion, aims to present life as it appears to him, leaving effect to take care of itself. He never coddles his reader—sometimes I wish he did, so greatly is he misapprehended by people otherwise intelligent.

The conventional novel, for example, has a great liking for types. One man becomes the incarnation of all vice, another embodies all virtue. The heroine is as beautiful as an angel (and as insipid), while her rival has raven locks and a heart of hate. The villain appears in the first chapter crying "S'death!" but the hero always triumphs in the last chapter, and the heroine enters upon a life of uninterrupted and dreadfully monotonous bliss. This is the outline of some millions of the novels read in America, and some thousands that are written here, weak reflections of the tales of a childish age.

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Everybody knows that this sort of story is contrary to real life; and that villains of this sort could not keep out of the hands of the police long enough to lay the train of their villainy, much less fire it, and the angelic characters are quite as illogical and tiresome, and yet they multiply, because to the toiler real life has no artistic value. He desires the fantastic, the feudal, the unreal. To such a reader Mr. Howells does not attempt to appeal. He is an artist, not a stump-speaker.

Over against the conventional romance the modern novelist sets his view. Men and women are mixtures of good and evil impulses. No one becomes good or bad all at once; nor do most men love evil for its own sake. Bartly Hubbard did not become depraved and lost to honor at the end of a paragraph, but by degrees, by almost insensible gradations. The villain of the romance is a scarecrow, a relic of the devil in the "Morality Play" of the Middle Ages. Bartly Hubbard and Silas Lapham are men of defective training and bad blood. Like most of us, they have some enemy within the walls who unbars the gates and flings them wide for the entrance of ruin. Jeff Durgin is both admirable and disgusting because of his perfectly human traits.

These are but examples, however, of the subsidiary parts of Mr. Howells's work. It is his avowed design to treat of the average, the commonplace, to celebrate the men and women of his day in America. He aims at being true to his time and place. He is a student of life here and now, and he advocates freedom from masters. His characters are healthy rather than diseased people. He has taught his readers to recognize in some measure at least the significance of the physiologic as over against the pathologic.

Like Whitman, he has no need of themes of feudalism, and in his quiet fashion he is quite as revolutionary. Furthermore, his realism is not the naturalism of Zola. Zola was a writer of the first class, but he was not a realist as Mr. Howells uses the term, for the reason that he treated, not of the average, but of the abnormally developed, the criminal. He dealt too largely with phenomenal cases, with the animal traits of men. This is truth of a certain sort, but it has no kinship with the realism of Howells, and is very far from the ideal of Whitman. Decorum, decency and humor are the characteristics of the average American as Whitman observed him, and these qualities are in every line written by the author of "Silas Lapham."

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The majority of men are not libertines or thieves, nor the majority of women conscienceless—even in Paris. In his war upon the romantic school, with their superhuman and ideal characters, Zola swept to the opposite pole. He proceeded upon the supposition that the public could not be interested in average personalities and in decent lives. As a result millions read his books for their brutal plainness of speech, rather than for their tragic breadth and bitter comment.

Not till Howells came did any considerable public in America appreciate the regular, the average, the near at hand. In a very high sense he *is* "the evangel of the commonplace."

It must be inserted at this point that many of our young novelists soon feel Zola's distrust, and fail in their attempt to depict in the realistic manner the life of some special locality, because of their fear of being dull. Whitman once complained to me that the local novel (which I was advocating) was too sensational, too bizarre. The cowboy novel was to him a sort of delirium-tremens novel, because it flowed with liquor and was hazy with the smoke of gunpowder. He asked for a literature of the decent and decorous men of the West. He said, in substance:

"Writers of this type comb together the unusual happenings of thirty years, in order to fill their books with odd or mysterious or picturesque characters. If they see in the paper a most singular account of a miser, or of a man living a double life, or of a man falling dead of heart-disease in a court-room, or of a horrible and mysterious murder, they clip it 'to work into' their novels. 'Are these not real facts?' they say. 'Do they not belong in a realistic study of an American town?' After being sufficiently spiced in this manner, stuffed with such sugar-plums, these novels are sent out as accurate studies of life in Pueblo or Omaha, when, as a matter of fact, they are as false to life as a city newspaper which ignores the law-abiding and quiet citizens, and deals only with the criminal, the abnormal."

I was obliged to admit that there was much truth in his statement. The average American town seldom does enjoy a band of stage robbers as a part of its outfit. All banks do *not* break, nor do all cashiers leave suddenly for Canada. Neither is the average Ohio town populated with burglars and vagrants with mysterious histories, villains who do nothing but spin plots to carry off maidens from their own true loves, nor with excessively hand-

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some young heroes who have nothing to do but make love or follow up the villain and imbrue the ground with his life-blood. The moment the structure of these stories is set forth in plain words, it is seen how false, how cheap, they are.

Mr. Howells does not seek for the exceptional. He aims throughout to be true to his horizon and to the locality which he sets out to depict. He is as sane as Whitman, and is possessed of a distinctive humor which the gray old seer lacked. His books are as sunny and normal as those of Poe and Hawthorne are gloomy and fantastic. He takes care to have no more exceptionally good or bad or singular characters than there would be in any social group of citizens similarly situated. And more than this, the whole development of his story is logical. He seeks to verify at each point the positions in which the characters place themselves. He avoids producing colorless types, and is ever calm and observant, being as critical of his heroine as of his villain.

His characters are individuals, not because of abnormal exteriors, but because the author has the sympathetic insight and the quality of expression which enable him to make the most commonplace character an object of art. He discards the "deep and thrilling plot" as unnecessary to his books. His charm is not dependent upon suspense but upon analysis.

Wild-eyed lovers, lunatics and assassins have no place in his stories. He embodies the tranquil, the sunny, the domestic, which are, after all, still the distinctive features of our society.

Few of us commit murder or adultery; we pride ourselves on being pretty decent fellows on the whole. We do not make love in the hysterical fashion of the romance, nor die of a rejection, as certain novelists would have us believe men do. Ungovernable passions visit us but seldom, if at all; and, besides, the deep passions are quiet. Those who rage are soon exhausted.

Men are regular at their meals, even when their wives or children die. The darkly tragic, the murderous, are not the common sort by any means; they were not so even in the past. On the contrary the major part of mankind have lived and died quietly. Love, moreover, does not make up as much of life as romance implies. Most of us are occupied with business or politics by far the larger number of our days, and are lovers only part of the time, though courtship certainly continues to be the sweetest and most sacred experience of every man's life.

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If these things are true, and if it is also true that fiction and the drama for the last century have rung the changes on all the abnormal, the hideous, the lascivious, the lunatic and the volcanic in human life, is it not the part of a sane and cultured novelist to take up new themes, dealing with "mental *physiology* instead of mental *pathology*, concerning himself with healthy rather than with diseased persons"? Is it not well to ignore rather than to perpetuate the fiction founded upon other conditions and societies, and so unwholesome to our American youth? Shall we not have a drama and fiction true to modern America?

It is not true that a sane novel lacks readers. Mr. Howells is not neglected. He lives very well and his high position in American letters is no longer in question, and yet he has never swerved in his allegiance to his ideal of what our literature should be. He has not conformed to this or that change in literary fashions, but has gone on steadily in his own way serene and unangered. He is willing to admit that sensation draws a larger audience and pays a larger dividend. But a great and enduring literature cannot be founded in this way. Suppose every writer in America were to turn next year to writing love romances of mediæval France; what an absurd spectacle we would present to the world!

Another and very important feature of Mr. Howells's art is his humorous and analytical study of women and his choice of a great variety of types. This is a most distinctive distinction. Ours is the golden age of women. Our literature not only deals with women—it is addressed to them.

Mr. Howells does not derive his knowledge of the feminine from romantic sources. He is an observer; and what is still more unusual, he is humorously observant even of his heroines!

To quote Nordau again:

"Most of us have obtained our ideas of woman from poetry and fiction; and the poets, in their portrayal of womankind, have not been impelled by an honest spirit of observation, but by an unconscious spirit of gallantry. . . . In our polite literature, woman is not a sober zoological description, but the ideal of some impassioned male imagination. The writer is not delineating, but wooing. When he speaks of woman, he is not an impartial observer but instinctively a suitor for her favor."

Especially is this true of the "heroine," who is usually the most colorless and conventional figure in the poem or the novel, while the old or low-class women are always much more indi-

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vidual and lifelike. This was true of Scott, for example, and Dickens, and especially of Cooper—a weakness in which can be traced survivals of the heroic age when fiction had to do with men, chieftains at that; children, women and the thrall entering only in the most incidental way.

During the Middle Ages, the maiden appeared and took a place beside the chief. She represented the ideal woman of the time, as the knight did the ideal man of the time. These lovelorn beings were always young and ravishingly beautiful, and exactly alike (barring some slight, altogether immaterial, differences in "orbs" and "tresses")—they all had "trembling white bosoms," "tender limbs" and "silvery voices"; just as all seasons were spring, and all nights moon-lit and possessing gentle zephyrs and grieving nightingales. They no more represented the women of their day than a circle and three dots represent an individual face, and yet they persist in modified form to this day in certain types of "Lady May" romances.

Manifestly, it would be ridiculous for Mr. Howells to thrust into the reality of Silas Lapham's household, or any of the households which he depicts, the last characterless modification of the beautiful maiden of romance, the vague figure which has floated through every poem and novel for a thousand years. Such wraiths could not exist for a moment on the deck of the "Aroostook" or in the dining-room of "The Lion's Head Inn."

This is of more importance than will at once appear, for the influence of fiction upon feminine character is very great. Girls get their knowledge of the world in large measure from novels, and it is of the utmost importance that their ideas of courtship should be sane and wholesome at least. The women in America read in far greater proportion than the women of other lands, and they read more fiction than the American man; and while their influence on fiction is admitted, fiction unquestionably has a corresponding effect upon them. The humorous exposition of feminine as well as male excesses and follies is likely to have a beneficent influence on the nation's life, by giving comparative ideas of life and love to "the mothers of men."

They certainly receive the most painstaking consideration from both Mr. Howells and Mr. James, many of whose books are most elaborate and serious studies of women, from the girl of nine to the grandmother of ninety, not confined, as were the old novelists,

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to those of a marriageable age and of extraordinary beauty. In "The Bostonians," for example, there is the most careful setting forth of a pale, thin, nervous spinster, with "absolutely no figure at all;" and in Mr. Howells's novels physical beauty is seldom insisted upon. The charm of all his women chiefly lies in their unexpected candor, their subtle insight and their abounding and sympathetic understanding of others.

We discover more than variety in character in his novels. In depicting the young and lovely heroine he uses the same self-restraint and employs the same analytic method with which he delineates aged or the "low-class" women. He is not wooing, he is defining. This method does not secure great emotional tension, but it is fraught with great good to the reader. In such a bracing air morbid passions and foolish fancies wither and die.

Here the American realist takes issue with Zola. It is not necessary to deal with a wanton in order to make a realistic study of a woman; witness George Eliot's "Sister Pullet," Howells's "Mrs Lapham" and the lonely spinsters in Miss Wilkins's stories. As Veron said, "we care no longer for gods and heroes, we care for men;" so we may say, we care no longer for goddesses and heroines, we care for women, real, individual, modern women.

One of the most common and one of the most mistaken of all criticism upon the work of Mr. Howells is that which persists in asserting that his women are all alike and without dignity or charm. This view is curiously at variance with the facts. The critic has but to think of "The Lady of the Aroostook," Egeria, Marcia Gaylord, Irene Lapham, Dr. Breen, Olive Halleck, 'Stira Dudley, the Dreyfus girls, Miss Vance, Mrs. Durgin and Mrs. March, to perceive how mistaken he is. This criticism is made, I fear, by those who have read only Mr. Howells's farces.

He does not rhapsodize over his heroines, it is true; he is not a passionate wooer of their favors; but he is always kind, always sweet and manly in his treatment of them. His humor is corrective; it is never bitter. He is interested in all silent heroisms. War and crime, the abnormal, the furious, are left out of his books. He is interested not in what men and women do in times of fire and murder and other exceptional circumstances, but in their quiet sacrifices, their every-day lives, in their calm moments. His love-stories are pure and sane and self-contained; the erotic maniac is not to be found in the very best of his volumes.

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All these characteristics give him great distinction over the mob of those who put their trust in incident and in the two grand insanities, lust and war. He appeals to intellect, not to emotion; and, as thought is higher and rarer than brute passion, his audience is narrowed by his exclusion of themes which excite and harrow the nerves. To many readers he is dull and slow. His exquisite English, his rare and delicate humor, his altruism, have all escaped them. He is never "spicy," never panders to a seared palate. Many of his warm personal friends do not like his books, but this does not argue that the books lack art and humor and true feeling; often it means that the author is fresher in perception than his neighbor, sweeter in his sympathies. I am willing to confess, even at the end of this paragraph of praise, that I cannot always follow him; but this is because my life is so much more active, not to say unreflective, than his. He sits above the tumult and his heart is sound and sweet.

There remains a further consideration concerning the question of realism. Mr. Howells in his use of the term does not mean, as many suppose, the reproduction on canvas or in the novel of the scene or character precisely as would be done by photograph. On the contrary, the realist paints the scene as it *appears to him,* and it is this subtle interposition of his personality which makes the painting a work of art, absolute realism being as impossible as it is undesirable

"There can be no art without selection," and in this selection, in the arrangement of lines and colors, in the "distribution of values," the artist appears. No matter how he may strive for absolute realism, he always adds something from himself. This quality is manifested first in the choice of subject, next in the arrangement of parts, by the importance given to some and withheld from others—unconsciously it may be.

In the choice of subjects it has been shown that Mr. Howells is democratic, modern. More than this, he is sympathetic, because he "knows how it is himself." He sympathizes with the common people not because it is a duty, but because he feels he is one of them. This gives him full license to be humorous, with the same gentle satire one uses when rebuking a friend. He is humorously tender, as Whitman was gravely and fervently tender. This tension, so sane and sweet, is wellnigh unparalleled, and it measures all his angles of vision. He is not above his subjects

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but among them, and when he treats of Lemuel Barker and 'Manda Grier he enters their horizon and pleads their cause; he never leaves out their humanity, never depicts them as grotesque or insipid, for they are not so in his eyes. He is never bitter, even when exposing folly; never despairing, notwithstanding he knows so much of the squalor of life.

It is evident that, as all this appears in his writing, he cannot be a mere photographer. He is, indeed, a very great way from giving the average point of view. His art is most discriminating, and his style is of rare beauty and simplicity, and of remarkable pictorial power.

But, some one says, he goes into so many useless particularities. Possibly; but the question is, *are* they useless particulars? If they are, then they are wrong and the art is bad art. But this is the age of the particular and the distinctive, the farthest remove from the literature of the clan and the tribe. In his rebound from the vague and the general in feudal literature, the democratic novelist is apt to go too far in this direction. I sometimes feel this fault in Mr. Howells, especially in his serials—in book form it is less noticeable.

The test is, Do the details help to give individuality and vitality to the picture?

It is not in the scope of this writing to enter farther into detailed study of this great writer. When his volumes are finally bound together, they will present a study thus far unequalled by any delineator of American society. In such a final view it is possible that the apparent lack of large aim, which is now the most pertinent criticism of his stories, will have less cogency. When his plan is all under the eye, it may appear that the present is to be represented, not as the age of colossal personalities, but of high average personality. Suppose Mr. Howells to write ten books of the style and breadth of "Silas Lapham," "Lemuel Barker," "A Modern Instance," "A Hazard of New Fortunes" and "The Kentons." Then imagine yourself looking back upon them at the distance of half a century, from the year 1950—and perhaps much of that which now seems redundant will have taken on striking value.

Perhaps these familiar little touches, these insertions of what people actually do and say, will be read with the most absorbing interest, while large figures like Lapham, Halleck, Hubbard, Dry-

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fus, will be great because they are representative of a special class of our people, at the same time that their individuality is predominant. They will stand out vividly against a background of lesser figures coming and going, while around them, like the roar of a great city, the buzzing of vast crowds will be heard.

I do not mean to claim for Mr. Howells any superhuman genius; his humanity is his strong point. I do not wish to be understood as saying that he is the greatest novelist of the age, for all are not agreed as to what constitutes a great novelist; nor that he has reached the further wall of the evolution of his art. But I am willing to be held responsible for this judgment: He is the most American, the most sympathetic, the truest writer in American fiction.

He expresses his age and is inextricably bound up in it. He can never be separated from the air and thought of the present half-century. See what he has done. Reread the delicious "Lady of the Aroostook," the exquisite "Undiscovered Country," the broad and vivid novel, "A Modern Instance." Recall the pathetic and yet humorous account of Lemuel Barker, the pitiless yet sympathetic study of Silas Lapham. See how he has dealt with a great theme in "A Hazard of New Fortunes," and again in "The Quality of Mercy." By putting his study upon conditions and scenes having only adult associations, and especially by studying what goes on around him every day, Mr. Howells has given us accurate and broadly varied views of nearly every phase of life which has touched him closely. He has not sought adventure; his themes come as naturally as his words. To some this may seem prosaic and vulgar, but to others it appears to be a great and shining work. His influence has been wholly good.

It is to me a most notable fact, that this man has risen to be our chief literary man, on the strength of some ten or twelve novels wherein his critics may vainly search for a single murder, conflagration, abduction, divorce or pistol-shot. We can safely challenge the world to produce his equal in sanity, sympathy and humorous insight.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

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MRS. EDDY'S RELATION TO CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY W. D. McCRACKAN.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE is a religion of doing. Therefore, let us see what it does.

I suppose there is hardly a reader of this article who does not know of a case in which Christian Science has been tried in the hour of need and proven a help. Some readers, doubtless, know of several such cases. Every Christian Scientist knows of a good number, and there are many Christian Scientists, so that the volume of evidence is a very great one indeed. These cases of cure and comfort cover a multitude of diseases and disabilities, chronic or acute, organic or inorganic, called curable or called incurable by other methods. Every manner of discord and misery, of sin, sickness and sorrow, has yielded to Christian Science. Being far from infallible, Christian Scientists have some failures to record; but the successes already attained during the thirty-odd years that Christian Science practice has been before the world, warrant the hope that results will grow more uniformly good as Christian Scientists progress in spiritual understanding.

The appeal of Christian Science to man is to know God as infinite and omnipotent Good, and to learn to overcome evil with Good.

The first question in the study of Christian Science and the last is, "What is God?" Then the first requirement and the last one is, "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me."

This will suffice to indicate what kind of a plow the Christian Scientist grasps when he cultivates his field. Every forward step in the furrow is a satisfaction. There are also many moments of rest, when the Christian Scientist, raising his eyes, gains a fuller assurance than ever that the sky overhead is blue and that birds are on the wing. With increasing frequency comes the sense of

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peace,—"not as the world giveth," but as the Comforter vouchsafes. This is the peace wherein Good is understood to be eternal and indestructible, while all that is unlike Good is revealed as vanishing and fleeting.

This metaphysical or spiritual understanding of God as infinite and omnipotent Good, heals the sick, reforms the sinner, and comforts the sorrowing. Hence, God (Good) is the Principle of Christian Science, and the mental, moral and physical regeneration of mankind is its motive. Take away this Principle and this motive, and there is nothing left of Christian Science. It has never effected a cure without this understanding of God, has never redeemed a slave from bad habits, has never touched a hard heart or melted a self-righteous one without this understanding; and, if the Principle and motive of Christian Science be good, why should the woman who has had the moral courage to place this Christian spiritual idealism squarely before the world and keep it there, incur anyone's displeasure? It must be reckoned among the curious phases of our day, that due recognition is not at once accorded by every one to the work of a woman who is devoting her life to the establishment of peace, good-will, health and holiness upon earth. When this recognition is not readily given, there must be misunderstanding of her discovery and her life motive.

In examining Mark Twain's three articles upon "Christian Science" with the sole object of separating fact from fiction, I believe I can perform a service to the public at large, and earn the kindly appreciation of Mark Twain himself.

We read in Article I.:

> "And who are attracted by Christian Science? There is no limit; its field is horizonless; its appeal is as universal as is the appeal of Christianity itself. It appeals to the rich, the poor, the high, the low, the cultured, the ignorant, the gifted, the stupid, the modest, the vain, the wise, the silly, the soldier, the civilian, the hero, the coward, the idler, the worker, the godly, the godless, the freeman, the slave, the adult, the child; *they who are ailing in body or mind, they who have friends that are ailing in body or mind.* To mass it in a phrase, its clientage is the Human Race. Will it march? I think so."

No one will deny that, if Christian Science is to take so prominent a part in the world's progress, it is of the utmost importance that it should be understood and correctly stated, and—what is vital—should not be confounded with systems from which it is

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fundamentally distinct. In Division III. of the second article we are told of "the power which a man's imagination has over his body to heal it or to make it sick." The work of one who tries "to heal or help" is likened to that of "the engineer when he handles the throttle and turns on the steam." Several different kinds of "engineers" are enumerated, and then we are told that "the Christian-Scientist engineer drives exactly the same trade as the other engineers." If it is sought to convey the impression that the power used in Christian Science is that of "the imagination," this impression is erroneous. It is the spiritual understanding of God as infinite and omnipotent Good which heals and helps in Christian Science. The power used is not one which both heals and makes sick, which does both good and evil. Whatever others may practice, the Christian Scientist does not attempt to substitute one belief of the imagination for another, but strives to use only that Mind which was also in Christ Jesus, and is productive only of good. When the Pharisees said that Jesus cast out devils by "Beelzebub, the prince of devils," we are told:

"And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand:

"And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself; how shall then his kingdom stand?

"And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges.

"But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you."*

Christian Scientists believe that this "kingdom of God," the reality of which was so gloriously demonstrated by the works of Jesus, is an heritage of all the ages, but is being apprehended with renewed power in our own day. They are taught that it is no material kingdom, no locality, but a state of consciousness, for Jesus also said: "The kingdom of God is within you."

Thus Mrs. Eddy defines the kingdom of God, or of heaven, as "the reign of harmony in divine Science; the realm of unerring, eternal, and omnipotent Mind; the atmosphere of Spirit, where Soul is supreme."†

The "imagination" is not the key which unlocks the gates of the kingdom of heaven. Nor can human will-power pick the lock,

* Matthew, 12:25-28.

† "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures," page 590.

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even when educated to the extent of producing the phenomena of mesmerism or hypnotism. On the contrary, it is the surrender of "imagination" in behalf of understanding, and of all human will-power in behalf of God's will, which fits man to discard the fiction of material existence and to understand the facts of spiritual Being, and thus enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The *modus operandi* of Christian Science does not consist of *willing* anybody to do anything; but it *affirms* the Truth concerning God and man and the universe, and thus enables man to take possession of his birthright and inheritance, namely, health, happiness and holiness.

The day has passed when the Gospel or Good-News of Christian Science can be made to pass for a compound of good and evil. It is wholly religious and purely spiritual. The results of compound systems can no longer be laid at the door of Christian Science, as taught by Mrs. Eddy in the Christian Science text-book.

As far as any information contained in the articles under consideration is concerned, no grievance is expressed against Christian Science itself, nor against what are called the "lay members" of the Christian Science church. Indeed, in Article I. the following words of a Baptist clergyman are quoted from the *Christian Science Journal* for October, 1898:

"The average Christian Scientist has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet. He does have a victory over fear and care that is not achieved by the average orthodox Christian."

These words are followed by the comment:

"What proportion of your earnings or income would you be willing to pay for that frame of mind, year in, year out? It really outvalues any price that can be put upon it. Where can you purchase it, at any outlay of any sort, in any church or out of it, except the Scientist's."

Again, in Article II. we read:

"There is every evidence that the lay members are entirely sincere in their faith, and I think sincerity is always entitled to honor and respect, let the inspiration of the sincerity be what it may."

But if the sincerity of Christian Scientists at large is not questioned, why should that of Mrs. Eddy be challenged, through whom has come to them what they understand of Christian Science?

The bond of love and gratitude between Mrs. Eddy and the

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multitudes who have been healed, reformed and comforted by her spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures, grows more secure and real as time goes on. If any individuals, lacking a proper understanding of her teachings, have thought too much of her human personality, they have either long since corrected this fault, or their own overweening sense of personality has been revealed to them as a god to be abandoned.

Mrs. Eddy's life motive springs from her discovery. The two cannot be separated, any more than Christian Scientists can be seduced, by any sophistries, from acknowledging their indebtedness to one whom God has chosen in this age to make known this Good-News to them.

Christian Science is not a revelation in any supernatural sense. It was reached by logical steps consistent with clear reasoning, and is, therefore, strictly scientific in the proper sense of the word. The discoverer of Christian Science investigated and observed many methods before she reached the spiritual understanding of what she denominated Christian Science.

In her autobiography, "Retrospection and Introspection," Mrs. Eddy relates the circumstances surrounding her discovery:

> "The discovery came to pass in this way. During twenty years prior to my discovery, I had been trying to trace all physical effects to a mental cause; and in the latter part of 1866, I gained the scientific certainty that all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon.
>
> "My immediate recovery from the effects of an injury caused by an accident, an injury that neither medicine nor surgery could reach, was the falling apple that led me to the discovery how to be well myself, and how to make others so."

After the discovery that divine Spirit had healed her, Mrs. Eddy began her search for the *modus operandi* of this healing. She writes, on page 109 of "Science and Health":

> "For three years after my discovery, I sought the solution of this problem of Mind-healing; searched the Scriptures, read little else; kept aloof from society, and devoted time and energies to discovering a positive rule. The search was sweet, calm, and buoyant with hope, not selfish nor depressing. I knew the Principle of all harmonious Mind-action to be God, and that cures were produced, in primitive Christian healing, by holy, uplifting faith; but I must know its Science, and I won my way to absolute conclusions, through divine revelation, reason, and demonstration."

Finally, after the discovery of the healing Principle of Chris-

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tian Science, came her application to existing conditions. On page 111 we read:

"I submitted my metaphysical system of treating disease to the broadest practical tests. Since then this system has gradually gained ground, and has proved itself, whenever scientifically employed, to be the most effective curative agent in medical practice."

Thus it will be seen that, in the discovery of Christian Science, first of all, facts were ascertained and a conclusion reached by the inductive process. Then, with this conclusion as a basis, a practical system of mental, moral and physical regeneration was established by deductive reasoning. Thus, the same general process was followed as in all great discoveries mankind has made.

Since her discovery, Mrs. Eddy has been mainly employed in keeping Christian Science pure and undefiled, so that all who sincerely desire its beneficent influence may avail themselves of it. She founded a College wherein it might be taught, and a Church for the practical demonstration of this applied Christianity in healing the sick as well as reforming the sinner. It is possible that, if Mrs. Eddy had encountered no opposition among those who falsely imagined their true interests to be jeopardized by her teachings, and no attempts had been made to pervert and reverse her discovery, such steps might not have been necessary. But, as a matter of fact, there proved to be imperative need for safeguards and authoritative centres of teaching; and, as a result, the Christian Science denomination with its churches, societies, reading rooms and institutes, its Board of Lectureship, Publishing Society, Publication Committee, official weekly, monthly and quarterly periodicals, etc., sprang into existence. Perfection has by no means been reached in using these means to produce the greatest good. I suppose that no one is more fully aware of this than Mrs. Eddy herself; and Christian Scientists with whom I have talked are striving to bring about better results, by spiritualizing their thought so as to be more worthy of their great task. Nevertheless, what has already been accomplished has proven the wisdom of the means chosen, and it is to-day possible to state:

"Beyond the frail premises of human beliefs,—above the loosening grasp of creeds,—the demonstration of Christian Mind-healing stands a revealed and practical Science. It is imperious throughout all ages, as Christ's revelation of Truth, of Life, and of Love, which remains inviolate for every man to understand and practise."*

* "Science and Health," page 98.

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I am not unmindful of the services which critics can perform for Christian Scientists in pointing out defects in their organization, and suggesting remedies. But it is evident that, in order to do this intelligently, critics must have actual facts before them. Moreover, it is futile to prophesy about the future of Christian Science, while overlooking its Principle and motive. Otherwise, one might write forever around the subject without touching Christian Science itself.

A foot-note to Article II. reads: "Written in Europe in 1899, and not hitherto published. This explanatory note should have preceded last month's instalment also.—M. T." In Article III. there is a foot-note which reads: "Written A. D. 2902." There are certain disadvantages about treating a present day subject either from four years back or from nine hundred and ninety-nine years ahead, which I feel certain the reader will appreciate. Christian Scientists are taught that the present is the most important of all times, because it is the only time in which one can really live. Besides, a great deal has happened in the Christian Science denomination during the past four years of which account must be taken in treating of the subject to-day. In Article I. the critic writes from somewhere in Europe four years ago: "a lady told me last night" that, in the Christian Science church in Boston, "on one side there was a display of texts from the New Testament, signed with the Saviour's initials 'J. C.' and on the opposite side a display of texts . . . signed with Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy's name in full." In another part of the same article the critic writes: "My lady informant told me that, in a chapel" of the Christian Science church in Boston, "there was a picture or image of Mrs. Eddy, and that before it burns a never-extinguished light."

The following facts may be verified by any one who will take the pains to make a personal investigation: All the texts from the New Testament in the Christian Science Church in Boston are signed with the names of the authors in full. They read:

"God is Love." St. John.

"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free." Jesus.

"And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick." St. Luke.

"For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Paul.

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There are, besides, two texts from the Old Testament:

"Who is so great a God as our God." David.
"God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in time of trouble." David.

It seems to me that these texts would do credit to any church. There is no picture or image of Mrs. Eddy in that church, nor is there any never-extinguished light burning before such a picture or image. I am informed that these conditions have existed in that church since it was originally fitted up. Moreover, it is not the teaching of Christian Science that "we have no substance, but are fictions and unrealities." If any Christian Scientist believed that four years ago, he or she either knows better to-day, or he or she is no longer a Christian Scientist. It should also be known that, if any lecturer personalized Mrs. Eddy as the "mighty angel" mentioned in Revelation X:1, he misrepresented Mrs. Eddy's own views upon the subject; for, in her interpretation of this verse, to be found on page 558 of the Christian Science text-book, "Science and Health," she writes: "Is this angel, or message, which comes from God, clothed with a cloud, divine Science?" The angel is thus defined as a message, not as a person. Whatever may have been the case four years ago, to-day no member of the Christian Science Board of Lectureship would thus misinterpret the Christian Science text-book. Nor does any accredited Christian Scientist personalize Mrs. Eddy as the "woman clothed with the sun" mentioned in Revelation XII:1, since Mrs. Eddy herself states, on page 561 of the Christian Science text-book: "The woman in the Apocalypse is the vignette, which illustrates as man the spiritual idea of God,—and God and man as the divine Principle and divine idea." The term "man" is here used, according to my understanding, to mean generic man, including both man and woman, and does not apply to any particular person. The symbolism of the Apocalypse, as is generally conceded, needs to be spiritually interpreted, in order to have meaning; and it is not the least of Mrs. Eddy's contributions to the religious teaching of our day that she illumines this symbolism with a meaning for all mankind. It is owing to misrepresentations of Mrs. Eddy's teachings, whether put forth ignorantly or maliciously, that her true relation to Christian Science has been misunderstood in some quarters.

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In reply to misrepresentations contained in Article I., she herself has stated, in an article widely published in the press and reprinted in the *Christian Science Sentinel* for January 22nd, under the title of "Judge Ye":

"It is a fact, well understood, that I begged the students who first gave me the endearing appellative 'mother' not to name me thus. But without my consent that word spread like wildfire. I still must think the name is not applicable to me: I stand in relation to this century, as a Christian discoverer, founder, and leader. I regard self-deification as blasphemous; I may be more loved, but I am less lauded, pampered, provided for, and cheered, than others before me—and wherefore? Because Christian Science is not yet popular, and I refuse adulation.

"My first visit to the Mother Church after it was built and dedicated pleased me, and the situation was satisfactory. The dear members wanted to greet me with escort and the ringing of bells, but I declined, and went alone in my carriage to the church, entered it, and knelt in thanks upon the steps of its altar. There the foresplendor of the beginnings of truth fell mysteriously upon my spirit. I believe in one Christ, teach one Christ, know of but one Christ. I believe in but one incarnation, one Mother Mary, and know I am not that one, and never claimed to be. It suffices me to learn the Science of the Scriptures relative to this subject.

"Christian Scientists have no quarrel with Protestants, Catholics, or any other sect. They need to be understood as following the divine Principle—God, Love—and not imagined to be unscientific worshippers of a human being.

"In the aforesaid article, of which I have seen only extracts, Mark Twain's wit was not wasted in certain directions. Christian Science eschews divine rights in human beings. If the individual governed human consciousness, my statement of Christian Science would be disproved, but to understand the spiritual idea is essential to demonstrate Science and its pure monotheism,—one God, one Christ, no idolatry, no human propaganda. Jesus taught and proved that what feeds a few feeds all. His life-work subordinated the material to the spiritual, and he left this legacy of truth to mankind. His metaphysics is not the sport of philosophy, religion, or Science, rather is it the pith and finale of them all.

"I have not the inspiration or aspiration to be a first or second Virgin-Mother—her duplicate, antecedent, or subsequent. What I am remains to be proved by the good I do. We need much humility, wisdom, and love to perform the functions of foreshadowing and foretasting heaven within us. This glory is molten in the furnace of affliction."

This statement is explicit. It dispels all insinuations or implications as to Mrs. Eddy's own views on the subjects therein treated. If she is misrepresented again by would-be detractors

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or would-be Christian Scientists, just persons must place the fault where it belongs. Thus, it is a mistake to twist into "worship" the words quoted from the Concord (N. H.) *Independent Statesman* as having been written to Mrs. Eddy: "My prayer daily is to be more spiritual, that I may do more as you would have me do . . . . and may we all love you more and so live it that the world may know that the Christ is come." What more natural than that a student of Christian Science should write thus to the discoverer of Christian Science? "The Christ," as defined in Christian Science, is "the divine manifestation of God, which comes to the flesh, to destroy incarnate error."* The Christ has always existed and comes, at all times, to all who will receive Him.

Mrs. Eddy's views as to the Virgin Mary are more in consonance with those of Catholics than are those of other denominations. The Christian Science text-book states:

"Jesus was the Virgin's son. In the flesh he was appointed to speak God's word to human flesh, and appear to mortals in such form of humanity as they could understand as well as perceive. Mary's conception of him was spiritual; for only purity could reflect Truth and Love, which were to be incarnate in the good and pure Christ Jesus."†

When all is said and done, Mark Twain's criticisms seem to relate principally to the financial affairs of Mrs. Eddy herself and of the Christian Science denomination. He lays stress upon the fact that payment is made for Christian Science literature. I am told by many persons that the results of free-tract religious movements often prove disappointing alike to giver and recipient. Though Christian Scientists have systematically given away a great many books, periodicals, etc., and are doing so to-day, it is still a question with them whether this method produces satisfactory results. There is much evidence to show that people appreciate more highly that for which they pay than that which is given them, and sincere persons, as a rule, prefer to make some sort of return for what they receive. Mrs. Eddy's books are sold by her publisher in Boston, and his agents elsewhere, to all who may choose to buy them. It is certain that the various religious bodies are, to a great extent, abandoning the distribution of free literature, and now maintain great book concerns, wherein their

* "Science and Health," page 583.
† "Science and Health," page 332.

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literature is sold for cash. One great advantage of this system is that the literature is certain to find its way only into the hands of those who really desire it. I have never heard that the various religious denominations have been accused of "adoration of the Dollar," "lust after the Dollar," "ecstasy in the mere thought of the Dollar," because their literature is bought and sold. Why should there be any objection to the sale of Christian Science literature, especially since the basis of all this literature is the spiritual understanding of God, and its motive is the mental, moral and physical regeneration of mankind?

That the business affairs of the Christian Science denomination are on a sound financial footing, is conceded. Is there any fault to find with that? Is it not rather a welcome mark of stability and good faith that this denomination can meet all its liabilities as they grow, can erect its own churches and at its own cost maintain free reading rooms and free lectures, to which the public have access without charge? Is it not a virtue that it needs no fairs, bazars, etc., and that none of its churches are dedicated until paid for? If the Christian Science denomination called upon those who have not had the benefits of its Christian healing to contribute towards its expenses, or if it were in debt and unable to pay its way, the status of its business affairs might be justly criticised, but under present conditions there is no such pretext.

There is no doubt that executive and business skill are needed to manage the affairs of so great and active an organization; but because this management succeeds, is it necessary to call the denomination a "trust," a "bargain counter" or a "factory"?

Now, if Christian Scientists as a body choose to endorse the sale of the Christian Science text-book, as the best possible means of bringing health and happiness to those who are searching for these blessings, and if the author of this text-book thereby receives compensation, which is used in turn in such manner as she deems best for the needs of the denomination, why should any one complain? Mrs. Eddy receives no salary as Pastor Emeritus of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, nor as recognized leader of the Christian Science movement all over the world. If the income derived from the sale of her books is ample, the list of her constant gifts is a large one too; but is generally known only to those who receive the gifts, or whose business it is to know them. The pamphlet entitled "Christian Science History," pub-

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lished in 1899, showed that Mrs. Eddy had expended large sums annually in charities, according to a statement furnished by her bookkeeper and taken *verbatim* from her books. This statement was made necessary by repeated public misrepresentations of Mrs. Eddy's private affairs.

Is there a living writer who has given the world a book from whose teachings a million or more cures have been effected? If there is such a writer, let him come forward and object to the sale of "Science and Health." Let it be clearly understood that no one is forced to take Christian Science treatment, or to buy or sell the Christian Science text-book, to receive instruction in Christian Science or to contribute toward the building or maintenance of any Christian Science church or reading room. If persons do expend money for any of these purposes, they do so of their own free will and in return for benefits received. I have never yet heard any one complain of the price of the Christian Science text-book who really wanted to buy the book; the only complaints come from persons who do not buy the book. It is difficult to understand what grounds for complaint such persons have. But, as a matter of fact, I have heard many persons say that no sum of money could adequately pay for the blessed hope and glorious regeneration which this book had brought them. Moreover, what are the current prices of various text-books on medicine, theology and the numerous physical sciences? Experience proves that they are expensive as a class, and that many of them are needed in order to cover one subject. But the Christian Science text-book covers the whole subject of Christian Science, and is a "Key to the Scriptures." Let any one price the various commentaries, concordances, helps and interpreters in any book store, and they will be found expensive as the term goes, though no one would dream of accusing any publishing firm, Bible House, or denominational book concern which issues them, of being a "trust."

All religious denominations supervise the instruction of their teachers and license their clergymen. They owe this to the public as well as to themselves. Such restraints are justified by general opinion in the case of all denominations. Why should any one consider them as marks of a "trust" when applied by Christian Scientists? The public has already been sufficiently deceived in times past as to what Christian Science is or is not, as to what it does or does not. No one who has the good of Christian Science

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or of the public at heart would suggest that unprepared and possibly unscrupulous individuals should be allowed to call themselves teachers of Christian Science.

The same precautions are necessary in regard to Christian Science literature. In order that the public may know that such literature states the teachings of Christian Science correctly, it must be properly accredited by those who know from personal experience what Christian Science is. For this reason, there is a responsible Christian Science Publishing Society. Mrs. Eddy herself derives no income except from the sale of her own books,—which is a privilege no author would wish to deny another,—and a small interest on some of her money.

Christian Science is for all who want Christian Science. Its teachings are already practised by a large number of earnest and intelligent people according to their understanding of its demands. It is true that these teachings are found in a text-book; that somebody wrote this text-book; that this text-book is sold to those who want to buy it; and that, in accordance with customary business methods, it is sold for cash. Is there anything in this condition of affairs which calls for criticism? It would seem sometimes as though certain critics were trying to persuade Mrs. Eddy that she should apologize for having written "Science and Health," and would like Christian Scientists to force their text-book as a free tract even upon those who may not want it.

If "environment," as Mark Twain claims, counts for much in determining the religion of most individuals, it certainly counts least in making Christian Scientists, for it is precisely by coming out of their traditional environments that individuals become Christian Scientists. If they should wait for mere environment to make them Christian Scientists, they might wait a long time without results.

Christian Scientists, as all those know who come in touch with them, are what they are from individual experience. The Christian Science denomination grows as the result of definite, demonstrable mental, moral and physical benefits, accruing to those who come to it for help. Are these results commendable? Are they not most highly to be prized? Have Christian Scientists not the right to organize for the perpetuation of the teachings which have brought so much health and happiness to the world?

The various means used by Christian Scientists for placing the

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teachings of their text-book before the world constitute the most efficient charities with which I am acquainted. The object of all true charities, I take it, is to enable people to be of service to their fellow-men and to receive due compensation for such service. According to the statements of those who have made a life work of organized charities, mere almsgiving is found to be a fruitful source of pauperism, and the efforts of modern and up-to-date charitable organizations are being directed more and more, not towards supporting people in idleness, but towards putting them in touch with those who need their services. The teachings of Christian Science tend to remove the various mental, moral and physical disabilities which hinder man from being of service to his fellow men. On the one hand, these teachings overcome the bad habits, the apprehensions and worries which engender poverty; and, on the other, they expose and correct the greed, avarice, sensuality, fear, and lack of a true sense of justice, which cause others to prey upon the poor.

Christian Science emphasizes the fact, taught throughout the Scriptures, that God is the primal source of all supply, and gives a practical application, in every-day life, of Jesus' advice: "But rather seek ye the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."

In helping others to escape from the bondage of poverty, Christian Scientists are daily performing a great number of acts of charity which are for the knowledge of giver and recipient alone. It does not occur to them to tabulate these acts and furnish reports of them to the public, nor does the Christian Science denomination issue any bulletin of these acts. It was the advice of Jesus not to sound a trumpet when giving alms. He stated:

"Therefore, when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

"But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth:

"That thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly."*

Christian Scientists realize that the need for almsgiving is the acknowledgment of failure to cope with the causes of poverty. They are removing these causes as fast as their spiritual discern-

* Matthew, 6:2, 3, 4.

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ment will allow. In the mean time, they do not herald their failures, but are busy preparing for a time when almsgiving will no longer be necessary.

To turn from the picture of Christian Science presented in the three articles under consideration to Christian Science as it really exists, is like turning from an image in a convex mirror to the same image in a straight one. In these articles, the tendency has been to draw out of line the discovery and life motive of Mrs. Eddy, to swell to preposterous proportions the regular business affairs of the Christian Science denomination which she has founded, and to magnify the imperfections, while minimizing the merits, of the methods used for preserving the purity of Christian Science before the world. But every one who knows Mrs. Eddy personally, who has seriously studied her teachings, or received instruction in Christian Science from those who are striving to make its Principle the rule of their daily lives, knows this convex image to be a distortion.

Those who have had financial relations with the Christian Science denomination, the great body of people who attend Christian Science services, visit Christian Science reading rooms, and enjoy the benefits of Christian Science prayer, are fully qualified to judge for themselves concerning the value of what they receive, while the still greater body of those who know Christian Scientists need only turn to the latter for information.

No account seems to be taken in these articles of the magnificent moral courage exhibited by Mrs. Eddy in facing the world, as she has done for many years, as a Christian discoverer, founder and leader. Some credit seems to be given her for organizing and executive ability, but to those who know her that quality is overshadowed by her courage, her patience and her love. She once said that a single case of cure by Christian Science treatment sufficed to reward her for all her labors. There are vast numbers of such cures to-day, but there was a time when this could not be said. Mrs. Eddy has never wavered and never doubted. Judged by her actions and her writings, she has never questioned the validity of her mission to the world, in spite of the suggestions of foe or friend. She has stood undaunted and undismayed, though often misrepresented because misunderstood. Much of the value of her work is still unknown to the world, and will become known only as needed. In her "Miscellaneous Writings" she says:

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"I shall not forget the cost of investigating, for this age, the methods and power of error. While the ways, means, and potency of Truth had flowed into my consciousness as easily as dawns the morning light, and shadows flee, the metaphysical mystery of error—its hidden paths, purpose, and fruits—at first defied me. I was saying all the time, 'Come not thou into the secret'—but at length took up the research according to God's command."

In the mean time, Mrs. Eddy's loving relationship to Christian Scientists appears in such words as the following:

"When the heart speaks, however simple the words, its language is always acceptable to those who have hearts.

"I just want to say: I thank you, my dear students, who are at work conscientiously and assiduously, for the good you are doing. I am grateful to you for giving to the sick, relief from pain; for giving joy to the suffering and hope to the disconsolate; for lifting the fallen and strengthening the weak, and encouraging the heart grown faint with hope deferred. We are made glad by the Divine Love which looseth the chains of sickness and sin, opening the prison doors to such as are bound."

Mark Twain need have no fear that Christian Scientists will so deviate from true Christian Science practice as to "worship" Mrs. Eddy, but they recognize clearly the great significance of her discovery, the purity of her motives and the wisdom of her advice. It is their privilege to see that justice is not withheld from her.

W. D. McCRACKAN.

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THE NEW NILE RESERVOIR.

BY FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD, FORMERLY UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC AGENT TO EGYPT, AND AUTHOR OF "PRESENT-DAY EGYPT."

"The triumph of practical science, such as irrigation, bearing no relation to the sword or diplomacy, which turns a single acre of desert sand into a productive field, must be a thousandfold more valuable to the world than the victory of arms that merely changes a frontier or deprives a defeated nation of a single foot of soil: it is the victory of peace; it is creation."—*Present-Day Egypt.*

THE African continent has coincidentally been the theatre, during the past four years, of two gigantic enterprises, both of British origin, backed by British credit, and aimed professedly at improvement in the condition of humanity. In one of them the resources of military genius and preponderating strength brought two interior South-African republics under monarchical rule; while the other project, worked out at the first cataract of the Nile by a handful of resourceful engineers, has permanently extended the area of cultivable Egypt by nearly twenty per cent., and great belts of the desert, contiguous to the Nile, will hereafter be forced to surrender their aridity to the production of standard crops that feed mankind.

The military achievement cost an appalling sum in life and treasure; the object lesson in practical expansion a comparatively insignificant amount, to be recouped in a few years by nature's bounty. To my mind, the triumph of the studious engineer is thousands of times greater than that of Field-Marshal and General; but the meed of official praise is given overwhelmingly to the men who wrought with the sword.

In the western world we may have an insufficient understanding of the physical conditions which explain the importance of the

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great dam at Assouan, dedicated by the Egyptian Khedive on the 10th of last December.

Egypt being practically rainless, the Nile is perforce the sole medium of fertility; and this river, created by torrential rains in Abyssinia and the overflow of equatorial lakes, and without affluent in Egyptian territory, has a volume which varies with the seasons. For four months the flood rushing seaward is known as High Nile; it inundates hundreds of miles of valley and Delta, enriching the soil in preparation for seeding. Then come eight months of Low Nile, which, were it not for man's forethought, would result in parched fields, and the productive capacity of the country would be reduced to an extent meaning famine. The husbanding of the surplus water of the flood season, and its systematic liberation during the burning summer months, secure prosperity; for, wherever the fertilizing water can be directed, the desert sands are deprived of their aridity, and blossom into vegetation rich enough to tax credulity.

As a vocation, the pursuit of agriculture in Egypt is fraught with conditions that may well appear strange to the farmer in America or Europe, where water falls providentially from the clouds. Along the Nile, water must be lifted from the river or canals, every drop of it, and ingeniously inducted to every foot of soil under crops; none comes by gravitation. The elevation varies from fifteen to twenty-five feet, and is accomplished mainly by manual labor operating shadoofs—really the primitive pole-and-bucket system. Those who farm in a biggish way, comprehending industrial economies, employ animal-driven chains of buckets; and landed proprietors of financial resources employ steam-pumps to irrigate their fields. Ten or fifteen years ago, practically all irrigation was effected by manual or animal labor.

As soon as his crops are sown, the Egyptian becomes an irrigationist for a period of nearly a hundred days. If unprogressive enough to retain his shadoofs, he has to figure on a workman for each acre under summer crops; and, to saturate this acre once, the fellah must raise nearly four hundred tons of water; and this same acre must be fertilized in that way four or five times in a season. The labor required for irrigating is computed at $10 per acre. The sakieh-farmer, using chains of buckets, accomplishes it for less; the capitalist owning modern pumps for half as much. It is a conservative statement that one-half the male population of Egypt,

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in summer, is employed in water-hoisting. But the shadoof is doomed: it is being crowded out by labor-saving inventions.

The Egyptian husbandman has some advantages over his brethren in other climes, however. He never heard of frost, and he encounters neither trust nor labor organization. He may not know what the price of grain, cane, or cotton will be at a future date; but he can compute to a nicety what his crop will measure, and what it will cost him. He gathers two crops a year from the same piece of land, and sometimes three. If his sons and relatives are insufficient for his requirements, for from two to three piastres (ten to fifteen cents) a day he can employ a steady, reliable laborer, willing to wait for his wages until the crop is marketed.

The desert is illimitable, and the water supply can be made almost inexhaustible. Consequently, the irrigation engineer in Egypt has long had before him definite factors, which, if practically conjoined, meant certain and golden results. The old barrage near Cairo, made in Mehemet Ali's time by French engineers, and reconstructed under the British régime later, saved the country from bankruptcy by developing a cotton crop worth fifty million dollars a year; and minor upstream storage basins brought into being crops of sugar and cereals greatly in excess of the Egyptians' wants. It is estimated that the Cairo barrage (at the apex of the Delta) has drawn ten million dollars annually into the national treasury in land taxes for close upon a generation.

The British administration of the Land of the Pharaohs being a business proposition, it had no hesitation in committing to its engineers the task of providing facilities for storing Nile water on a stupendous scale, compelling the great river to pay tribute to agriculture rather than to waste its virtue in the Mediterranean Sea, knowing that the pregnant soil could in a few years be made to defray the cost of any reservoir that man could construct.

The engineers had considerations of every sort to weigh—professional, natural, fiscal—before determining the site for the great reservoir. They came to the conclusion that Assouan, with its bed of syenite granite—the identical lode that furnished the obelisks—beneath the river, and with the favorable conformation of the surrounding country, offered advantages equalled by no other location. Nature had there been lavish in providing hills of solid rock on either bank that will stand the ravages of the elements as long as the world lasts.

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A situation thirty miles south of Assouan, at Kalabsheh, was discussed; but there the massive dam would have to rest on a foundation of crumbly sandstone. The Silsila Gate site, fifty miles north of Assouan, was rejected for the same reason, and incidentally because the recently-excavated ruins of Kom-Ombos temple would be destroyed. The re-discovery by an American scholar, Mr. Cope Whitehouse, of the desert depression sixty odd miles southwest of Cairo, known in Bible times as Lake Moeris, was likewise not availed of.

It has long been my opinion that Mr. Whitehouse's project, used in conjunction with the Bahr Youssef canal, had much to commend it; but the law of gravity would confine its sphere of usefulness to the Fayoum province and to the Delta—the latter being already, in all probability, the richest soil on the face of the earth. Mr. Whitehouse claims legal rights in his discovery. When the augmented Egypt shall have "caught up" with the new conditions which must result from the Assouan reservoir, it may naturally be expected that the officials of the Department of Public Works will cast about for storage places between Assiout and Cairo. The possibility of utilizing the Whitehouse plan may then be considered, for perennial irrigation on a large scale is part of the obvious programme of those who control Egyptian affairs.

Probably, the cardinal recommendation of the Assouan site was, that its location on the natural and political frontier, where Egypt joins Nubia, admitted of the fertilizing of the entire length of the Nile valley in Egypt, approximately seven hundred miles.

It may be prophesied that the Assouan reservoir is but one of a series which will in time be constructed southward to Berber, Khartoum, and possibly the Victoria Nyanza itself; the re-establishment of Egyptian authority at Khartoum makes this possible. If so, the Soudan provinces may become important grain producers. But the population of the Soudan must first be recruited and schooled in the handling of labor-saving implements.

As a daring readjustment of nature's surface, the building of the Assouan dam, imprisoning in Nubia a body of water perhaps a hundred and forty miles long, crossing the Tropic of Cancer, and reaching southward nearly to Korosko, was a project outranking anything hitherto attempted by engineering skill; and, as a building scheme, it would have been worthy of a Rameses.

Pyramids and temples have borne testimony, through unnum-

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bered centuries, to the power of execution which formerly dwelt in the valley of the Nile. But the rearing of the Assouan dam,—since it is to minister to the world's necessities, rather than to man's vanity,—is a greater work than the erection of all the Pyramids at Ghizeh. To create a lake having possibly three times the superficial area of Lake Geneva in Switzerland, and to provide the means of controlling it with scientific precision, so that the harnessed flood might be turned into distant channels at will, was a comprehensive undertaking. But the representatives of the Department of Public Works claim that their plans have been carried out to the letter. They computed the water that would be held in bondage, and estimated the resistance which would have to be provided at every point of the masonry. In Cairo, the mathematicians of the Ministry of Finance claim to know the sum that should come into the public treasury from taxation through the country's augmented productiveness.

At Assouan, the Nile is 330 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. From Assouan north to Cairo, the fall is a trifle under five inches in the mile, and from Cairo to the sea about an inch to the mile. It has been computed that at present more than half of the Nile, with its precious sediment from Abyssinia, pours into the Mediterranean—in other words, water and soil enough to create many Egypts are permitted to run to waste.

The Assouan dam was practically the suggestion of Mr. W. Willcocks, the modest but hard-working Director-General of Egyptian Reservoirs, who has been rewarded with British knighthood, although the natural adaptability of the location had for fifty years been discussed by other engineers. When the Cairo administration found itself prepared to begin operations, Sir Benjamin Baker, conspicuous in British engineering undertakings, especially the Manchester canal, was invited to become chief-engineer of the Assouan project, to work in concert with Sir William Garstin, Under-Secretary of Public Works.

The chief-engineer went further than the study of plans and figures in Cairo, for he found a group of London capitalists, headed by Sir Ernest Cassel, willing to finance the scheme from inception to completion, the Egyptian government not being called upon to pay anything until the dam was completed.

Sir John Aird, M.P., and his subordinate contractors presented at the outset what looked like a moderate programme—namely,

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to proceed immediately with the work and receive later in the neighborhood of $800,000 a year for thirty years, presumably aggregating about $25,000,000. The credit was a long one certainly; and the ability of Egypt to make such a favorable contract, by which she apparently took little risk, and is to pay away each year but a part of the sum the reservoir brings to her exchequer, proves the enviable position of her credit. The transaction may further be taken as an earnest of Great Britain's intention to retain indefinitely her control of the country of the Nile.

In an official report by Earl Cromer, the British Diplomatic Agent in Egypt, it has been stated that the actual cost of the Assouan dam is about $12,500,000, and that it will increase the earning power of Egypt fully $13,000,000 annually—in other words, that it will pay for itself every twelvemonth. The reservoir will permit the additional irrigation of 1,600,000 acres, Lord Cromer writes, and it is estimated that it will bring additional revenue to the Egyptian government, in the shape of taxes, of $1,900,000 per year, and indirectly even more. The cost of the dam was about ten per cent. in excess of the estimate. When the builders went below the river's bed, seeking a solid foundation for the enormous structure, they encountered unsubstantial rock where imperishable granite had been looked for. This made it necessary to dig forty feet deeper in places than had been intended.

The contract was signed just five years ago this month, and the date fixed for the completion of the work was July 1st, 1903; but the low summer levels, especially in 1900, were so favorable that unexpected progress was made by Sir John Aird & Sons, and the dam was completed before the advent of the flood last December, practically a year before the specified contract time.

The dam is straight from end to end, and a mile and a quarter long; its thickness at its deepest part is eighty-two feet, tapering to twenty-three feet at the top, which is finished as a roadway. The height from the lowest part of the foundation to the coping is 131 feet. The maximum "head" of the impounded water will be sixty-five feet, and, when the dam is full, the volume of water is calculated at 234,300,000,000 gallons—practically, a billion tons. In years of ordinary Nile conditions, the storage will be completed in March, and the vitalizing liquid will be liberated during May, June, and July; then, for several months, when the valley of the Nile will continue athirst, the sluices will be kept

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open to their widest capacity, that the remaining flow of the river may not be checked. The Assouan structure differs in several respects from any great dam hitherto built. In the first place, no dam for impounding water has ever been made on any river approaching the size of the Nile; and, in the second place, it is both dam and waterway, a combination exceedingly difficult to effect. The released water, coming always from the bottom of the reservoir, will carry the enriching "red" precipitation that has been swept by the current all the way from Abyssinia. To confine Father Nile in floodtime would be hopeless, for the flow may amount to 15,000 tons of water a second. The dam has 180 sluice openings, mostly twenty-three feet high by six feet six inches wide. Where the gates are subject to abnormal pressure they are hung on rollers admitting of easy and certain raising. The masonry is of local granite, set in Portland cement mortar, the interior being of rubble, set by hand, with about forty per cent. of the bulk in cement mortar, mixed four parts of sand to one of cement. The surface work of the huge structure is of coursed rock-faced ashlar, but sluice-linings and locks are finely dressed.

During construction, there was great need at times for completing a section before the coming of High Nile, and it is recorded that at one point as much as 3,600 tons of masonry were put in place in a single day. Every facility for expeditious work was utilized, including lines of railway from quarries to the spot where blocks of stone were deposited by steam cranes. Ten thousand natives were employed in certain months, and a thousand or more European stone-cutters, mostly Italians and Greeks, were kept constantly at work.

While formerly navigation at Assouan was feasible only at High Nile, and then with great difficulty, it is now perennial; for on the west flank of the dam a navigation "ladder" of four locks, each 260 feet long by 32 feet wide, is in successful operation. Hitherto, trans-shipment of passengers and goods at the first cataract has been obligatory throughout a greater part of the year. The steamer or dahabieh of the tourist may now proceed, uninterrupted by rock barriers, from Cairo to Wady Halfa.

Subordinate to the great dam, a smaller one, in character like the barrage at the apex of the Delta, has been built at Assiout, 250 miles south of Cairo. Its function is to give sufficient "head"

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to the river to force the water into the irrigation canals that vein hundreds of thousands of acres north of Assiout. This new aid to agriculture is constructed of stone, whereas the Delta barrage is of brick. Its total length is just over a half-mile—2750 feet; and it has a set of navigation locks, and 111 arched sluices for regulating the flood discharge. Experts estimate that this Assiout barrage, in conjunction with the Ibramieh canal, whose intake is immediately above, will bring 300,000 acres under cultivation, and immeasurably enhance the fertility of the Fayoum province.

I may quote from a description, penned by Sir Benjamin Baker, illustrative of obstacles encountered on the Assiout work:

"The piers and arches are founded upon a platform of masonry 87 feet wide and 10 feet thick, protected up and down by a continuous and impermeable line of cast iron grooved and tongued sheet piling, with cemented joints. This piling extends into the sand bed of the river to a depth of 23 feet below the upper surface of the floor, and thus cuts off the water and prevents the undermining action which caused so much trouble and expense in the case of the Delta barrage. The height of the roadway above the floor is 41 feet, and the length of the piers up and down stream 51 feet. The river bed is protected against erosion for a width of 67 feet up stream by stone pitching, with clay puddle underneath to check infiltration, and down stream for a similar width by stone pitching, with an inverted filter-bed underneath, so that any springs which may arise from the head of water above the sluices shall not carry sand with them from underneath the pitching. . . .

. . . . "It is easy enough to construct dams and barrages on paper; but wherever water is concerned the real difficulty and interest is in the practical execution of the works, for water never sleeps, but day and night is stealthily seeking to defeat your plans."

The Egypt of the map contains more than four hundred thousand square miles, an expanse seven times as great as the New England States collectively; but the practical Egypt—that which produces crops and sustains life—is considerably less than the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut united. This ribbon-like strip of alluvial land bordering the Nile, a very few miles wide on either bank, with the Delta included, measures not more than ten thousand five hundred square miles.

To state with exactitude what will be the expansion realized by the two Nile dams finished last year, is impossible. Not only will the alluvial area be enormously enlarged, but, augmented irrigation provided, the area now under tillage will be rendered more productive. The benefits contemplated are not to be realized

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at once. But I deem it within the bounds of reason to record the belief that the *effect,* by 1908, of the recent adjuncts to irrigation in the Nile valley will be equal to the addition to the cultivable area which I call "practical Egypt" of fully twenty per cent., extravagant as that estimate may be regarded; in other words, that an area equal to that of Rhode Island will be added to the figurative area of Massachusetts and Connecticut employed in this article for the purpose of ready comprehension.

This will be expansion in its truest sense. As an object lesson, it should have no more interested observers than in the United States, where the irrigation engineer is succeeding the railway builder as a developer of the western and southwestern domain.

The agricultural industry that will be chiefly benefited by the Assouan dam and the tributary barrage at Assiout is cane-culture. The Nile cane is of such exceptional quality that much European capital has of late years been invested in its cultivation, while crushing-factories have gone up on the river's banks as if by magic. A vast amount of French and British capital found investment in sugar enterprises in Upper Egypt during the years when the Cuban crop was curtailed by strife and political uncertainties. The peasant farmer in Upper Egypt has become a capitalist in a small way through the "boom" in cane-raising. Egyptian cane is prized as the peer of all canes in saccharine productivity, and experts have long held that the valley of the Nile presented to an unparalleled degree climatic and economical advantages for sugar-raising.

Aided by nature in producing a staple commodity of superior quality, at a cost somewhat under that of production in most other countries, it is obvious that augmented irrigation facilities mean a rapidly increasing output of raw sugar, and it would not be surprising if the crop were trebled in the coming five years. It is rarely taken into account, when comparing Egyptian sugar with that of Asiatic and Malaysian countries, that the former—shipped always from Alexandria—reaches European ports at about the cost for carriage that sugar from the Far East pays as Suez Canal toll. Sugar has long been Egypt's crop of second importance. Statisticians must hereafter take the Egyptian crop into account when dealing with the world's production.

Since the American Civil War it has been bred in the bone of Englishmen to want to render Lancashire spindles independent of

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United States cotton fields. The wish finds frequent expression at meetings of British manufacturers, and the underlying object of the recently incorporated Manchester Society for the Encouragement of Cotton Growing in the Colonies is readily discernible. France, too, has just formed a similar association, "in consequence of the increasing menace of American competition, which, if unchecked, will become a monopoly," its prospectus stated. English and French journals feelingly described the official completion of the Assouan dam as a gigantic step toward freeing Europe from the thraldom of American cotton.

As a fact, cotton culture will receive comparatively little impetus from the augmented irrigation facilities in Egypt, and the area of the crop will probably never extend much beyond the present limits of the Delta. Some immediate increase of territory devoted to the fibre is inevitable, but it is my judgment that a crop of a million 750-pound bales (equal to a million and a half American bales) is the maximum output to be looked for for several years to come.

Every rose has its thorn; and by the time the new Assouan reservoir is full, say in March or April, I predict that we shall hear much, through the English and Continental press, of the desecration of Philæ, for the flooding of the island—a half-mile south of the dam—seems inevitable. Hundreds of tourists are certain to be shocked when they discover the island awash, its structures rising without meaning from a mirroring lake; and they will pour out their angry indignation forthwith through "letters" to favorite newspapers at home. Thus, Philæ is certain to be a world-topic this spring.

Reluctance or fear of injuring the architectural treasures of Philæ compelled the British administration of Egypt to hesitate for years about damming the Nile at the first cataract, and I always believed that the real purpose of the international commission to consider Nile sites was to obtain outside certification that the Assouan location was pre-eminent, and that the æsthetic must yield to the utilitarian. Probably no English engineer ever seriously thought of building a dam at any other point. When the subject was mooted eight years ago, and the fact published that Philæ was threatened, meetings were held by learned societies everywhere to protest against possible desecration, and memorials poured in upon the Egyptian government from antiquarians,

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Egyptologists, archæologists, and literary people, praying that Philæ should be undisturbed. The late Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy, did not hesitate to say that "any tampering with Philæ would be a lasting blot on the British occupation of Egypt." A torrent of newspaper invective was hurled at Britain's rule of the Nile, in which the word "vandalism" was frequently used.

"Why threaten to destroy one of the world's most priceless gems, in order that European holders of Egyptian bonds might be more certain of their interest?" was the universal inquiry. "What is a useless temple," retorted the engineers, "in comparison with a work involving the welfare of millions of human beings?"

To pacify public opinion, a modified scheme was prepared, calling for the present dam, two-thirds as high as first proposed, but which, its authors confessed, would cause the foundations of "Pharaoh's Bed" and the pylons and pavilion to be submerged for a few months in the year. It is open to suspicion that the zealous engineers understated the extent of the submergence; and it would not be surprising if the dam were found to be a trifle higher than the elevation that was going to establish a mean between the æsthetic and utilitarian.

Read between the lines, this quotation from a document published by the chief engineer of the Assouan enterprise should be sufficient to prepare the world for disquieting news from Philæ:

"When the reservoir is full, the island of Philæ will in places be slightly flooded. As the temples are founded partly on loose silt and sand, the saturation of the hitherto dry soil would cause settlements, and no doubt injury to the ruins. To obviate this risk, all the important parts, including the well-known Kiosk or 'Pharaoh's Bed,' have been either carried on steel girders or underpinned down to rock, or, failing that, to the present saturation level. It need hardly be said that, having regard to the shattered condition of the columns and entablatures, the friability of the stone, and the running sand foundation, the process of underpinning was an exceptionally difficult and dangerous task."

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

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OUR ACTUAL NAVAL STRENGTH.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEO. W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

In the early spring of 1898, when war seemed inevitable between Spain and the United States, many naval experts of Continental Europe compared the relative fighting strength of the fleets that could be assembled by the prospective foes. It was apparently shown by graphic charts and official reports that the two navies were practically equal in strength, and the general prediction was made that, while the Americans might eventually be victorious, a conflict would greatly imperil the commercial prosperity, maritime development and financial standing of the United States. The naval outcome of that war falsified all such anticipations. The error of the forecast was due to the fact that armor and armament were used as the only bases of comparison, when in truth the weapon and the shield were merely two of many factors that constitute actual naval strength.

If naval strength were dependent only on the relative number of guns and the amount of armor possessed by naval Powers, then supremacy on the sea could be secured in a fraction of the time now required. Relative naval strength would be simply proportional to relative national wealth. Navies would be bought rather than created, and Admiralty officials would be ever on the lookout to purchase the fighting-ships of financially embarrassed Powers.

It is, of course, important that the war-ship should possess an efficient and reliable weapon, and it is also necessary to provide armor which, without being cumbersome, will yet resist the attack of the gun. But naval strength is something more than a few hundred guns mounted on well-protected platforms. It is helplessly dependent upon the auxiliaries that the fleet requires; and supremacy on the sea can only be secured by that nation

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which is rich in natural, manufacturing, and material resources, and whose people possess or can acquire the sea habit.

Cost of Maintaining Naval Auxiliaries.—The fact that the battle-ship in itself does not constitute naval strength may be evidenced by significant circumstances. In maintaining dominion of the sea, Great Britain has invested from three to four times as much money in naval auxiliaries as in battle-ships. These auxiliaries include training-ships, torpedo-boats, supply-vessels, cruisers, arsenals, docks, and naval stations, as well as countless incidentals that are necessary to supplement or to support the vessels of the battle-line. It is the strength of the support back of the battle-ships that causes the experts of England at the present time to be very indifferent as to any projected alliance of naval Continental Powers.

A forcible illustration of the indirect expense involved in maintaining a military establishment was afforded in the case of the Egyptian campaign of twenty years ago, when a high official of the British War Office declared that it cost a guinea a day to keep each of the soldiers of Sir Garnet Wolseley in the field, though the pay of each private was only a guinea a month. The man on the firing line on that march up the Nile was an important personage; but it took men and money to keep him there, and to maintain for him communication with the base of operations.

Another way of bringing home the truth of the indirect cost, and immense auxiliary organization, requisite to maintain a military-naval establishment, is by recalling the fact that the Spanish-American war cost over a million dollars a day for over a year after the conflict commenced, although in less than three months from the time of the declaration of that war the Spanish fleets, in both Asiatic and North-American waters, had been destroyed or captured, and all open resistance upon the part of the Spanish troops had ceased in Cuba and the Philippines. Probably not one-fifth of the men who volunteered for service in that war had the privilege of reaching even the skirmish-line.

The ships that reach the battle-line, or the troops that are called upon for actual fighting purposes, comprise but a small portion of the forces that must be assembled in time of war.

An Approved Type of Battle-ship Not Yet Developed.—Then again the design of the war-ship is yet in a state of development. Less than three months ago, an order was given by the British

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Admiralty to break up for junk the battle-ship "Inflexible," a vessel which twenty years ago represented the highest type of naval architecture. The "Inflexible" was a battle-ship which possessed citadels, thus attempting to mass guns and armor at the ends of the vessel, an incarnation of the battery installation of the fighting-ships of several hundred years ago. The first steel cruiser of the American Navy was placed in commission less than fifteen years ago, and yet one of these vessels, the "Philadelphia," is about being fitted up as a permanent receiving-ship, the vessel being unsuitable for naval purposes. The gun-platform is thus a factor of variable value, if the experts of to-day will consign to the scrap-heap a vessel that less than two decades ago repsented one of the highest types of naval development. We are even told that a second-class battle-ship, or one of 9,000 tons, is now the proper one to build. If such contention is true, what is the military value of the 15,000-ton ships that have been constructed during the past five years by practically all the leading naval Powers?

Our Isolation and Geographical Position.—Probably one of the greatest indirect factors in giving us naval strength is our isolation. Only a few years ago, a Board of British Admirals reported that it would require three battle-ships upon the part of England to match two French vessels of like character, if a blockade of the French coast should be attempted. The British experts maintained that it would be necessary to give the blockading squadron this increased strength, because the French vessels within the harbors would have the support of the coast batteries, as well as the protection of the torpedo-mines planted in the channel approaches. The blockaded fleet would likewise have the opportunity to seek battle at will. The foreign ships, on the other hand, in being compelled to maintain an effective blockade, would be dependent upon auxiliaries for coal, ammunition, and supplies. If such an extra show of naval strength would be requisite upon the part of England for operation against a Power whose coast is almost within sight of her own, it is reasonable to presume that every European Power would require a fleet at least double the strength that we possess to operate against our shores. It is true that fortified harbors of other Powers exist to the north of the Maine coast, and to the southward of Porto Rico. Such ports might be used as bases of operation; but the modern fleet requires

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a bay rather than a harbor for a suitable rendezvous, and thus there are limitations as to the military and strategic possibilities of the bases held by foreign Powers in North-American waters.

Insuperable Difficulty of Blockading our Coast.—The disadvantages under which a blockading fleet would labor, compared with the advantages which the fleet within the harbor would possess, can hardly be over-estimated. The blockading fleet would have but few reliefs to take the place of the sick and exhausted. All repairs to machinery or to the gun-gear would have to be made by the blockading force, instead of by shops on shore. A properly designed and well-equipped repair-ship could render effective service to the blockading squadron; but, as the Admiralty officials of many countries have not learned to appreciate fully the importance and necessity of such a vessel, there are practically none available for the purpose.

The home fleet could call upon thousands of available laborers to coal the ships, while this vexatious and distressing work would have to be done by the overworked men of the blockading squadron, and then the coaling task of the foreign fleet would have to be performed by the men under strain of their liability to be called to the guns even during the evolution. The invading fleet would have to batten down hatches at the approach of a gale, and the close atmosphere of the lower deck would make it impossible for the crews to secure needful rest.

It would not be long before the blockading fleet, in the presence of an aggressive foe, would be greatly weakened if not forced to disperse, for it is certain that competent and spirited commanders would take the blockaded ships out of harbor when there was a fighting chance for victory. The engineering weakness of the modern battle-ship for blockading purposes will be made manifest to the naval world if some nation ever attempts to operate against our principal Atlantic ports. One can hardly conceive how greatly our naval strength has thus been indirectly increased by reason of our isolation from those countries which aspire to naval supremacy.

Our Coal Resources.—The events of the past ten months have shown the country how easily a coal famine may be caused. Probably but few naval experts, outside those whose special function it is to give consideration to the question, realize the difficulty of insuring an adequate coal supply. In the Navy it is certainly

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true that Coal is King, and probably in industrial affairs the expression more nearly represents a proverb. Coal is a very bulky article, and not only a large number of cars, but extensive piers and expensive machinery, are required to handle it rapidly and cheaply. There is a great disinclination upon the part of railroad officials, by reason of the time, trouble and expense which must be incurred, to increase the facilities for transporting and handling coal, and this accounts for the shortage of cars, for the lack of storage facilities, and for the constantly recurring possibility of a fuel famine.

"Coal, or the want of it, is the life or death of a fleet," and England is the only naval Power in the world that is on equality with America as regards the possession of an adequate supply of fuel of good steaming quality.

Probably the most impressive way of showing our military advantage as regards securing coal is to state, in the words of the Secretary of the Navy, that: "At present the Navy is obtaining the best domestic coal, at a cost of about $2.50 per ton at the tide-water outlets of the mines." Of the 300,000 tons that were purchased within the United States for naval purposes, the average cost per ton, including transportation, was only $5.26.

On the Pacific coast, where good coal is scarce, and where it must be transported long distances, the cost is nearly twice as great as on the Atlantic coast. The Standard Oil Company, however, is now building a pipe line which will convey crude petroleum from the California oil-fields to the Bay of San Francisco, and this fuel should eventually be delivered at the principal California ports at a price that will be as low as that of the best quality of coal that can be bought on the Atlantic seaboard. The Liquid Fuel Board of the Navy has shown that an installation of oil-burning appliances can be quickly fitted to marine boilers, and while there may be serious disadvantages connected with the installation of oil-burners on war-ships for distant service, such devices might be of inestimable military advantage if the war-ships were only required for defensive purposes.

In time of war it will not be sufficient to get some kind of coal, for that nation will be at a disadvantage which does not secure the best quality. In the China-Japan war, the latter country, though possessing immense beds of fuel within a few hundred miles of the Chinese coast, purchased all the Cardiff coal that

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could be procured from ship or shore. In measuring our naval strength, therefore, with that of any other naval Power for work in the West Indies, our superiority from the coal standpoint can be regarded as an important factor.

Our Adequate Food Supply.—While our coal resources will inure to our military advantage, our food supply will likewise be a factor that must be taken into consideration in measuring naval strength. It is said that the land under cultivation in England one hundred years ago could feed over ten million people, while at present the yield would not support more than five million. As England receives from Russia about one-half as much grain as she receives from the United States, it is not surprising that there are experts in Great Britain who are more concerned about her food-supply in time of war than about any alliance that could be formed by Continental Powers.

With each succeeding year the sailor becomes a more highly trained and sensitive creature, and he must now receive a ration that was not enjoyed even by the Captains of the old-time frigates. The bewhiskered sailor, with bow legs, who was content with "salt horse," scouse, hard-tack, and grog, is now only found on a few brigs, barques, and schooners, and thus the food requirements of Nelson's sailors were extremely modest compared to the wants of the modern man-of-war's-man.

It has been said that Cervera's sailors were not impressed by our marksmanship, since "our fleet at Santiago accomplished what it did with less than four per cent. of hits," and yet "our Navy at that time had the reputation of having the best gunners in the world." It was our Navy ration which most astonished them; for it was after the Spaniards were received as prisoners that they learned that the same quality of dressed beef which was furnished the leading restaurants of our cities was being issued daily to the enlisted naval force. Fresh vegetables were also supplied to the blockading ships, and even fruit was brought from Hayti and Jamaica. On the hospital ship, aërated waters were bottled. Practically every ship on the blockading line had an ice-plant. Milk, chocolate, tea, and coffee were served as beverages, and some of the commissaries even sold pies and cakes. It has been unappreciated modesty which has prevented the officers of the Pay Corps from making known in its fulness the great work done by the Paymaster in all naval wars. Particu-

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larly is the nation unacquainted with the work done by the Paymasters during the Spanish-American war. The sailors that can be rationed as our men were by the Paymasters of the Manila and Santiago fleets will be capable of work that cannot be secured from those whose food is either inadequate or of poor quality.

While it may not be necessary for us to concern ourselves about maintaining a food supply for either the fighting forces or for our people in time of war, there are other Powers which must give consideration to these questions. Our actual and relative naval strength is thus greatly increased by our superiority in this respect over any possible foe that would attempt to meet us on our own coast or in the West Indies.

The Ship-building Yard an Essential Auxiliary.—As the ship-building yard constitutes another element of naval strength, Great Britain is the only country that is superior to us in this respect. We have now twelve establishments which are ready to undertake contracts for the building of battle-ships and armored cruisers. We have two armor-plants whose owners will increase their output of manufacture to any extent demanded by the Government, provided some reasonable assurance is given that such corporations can expect a fair profit upon capital invested. We possess two establishments which will guarantee to make forgings of any size and quality that can be manufactured anywhere in the world. Any demand that the Government might make for steel castings could also be promptly met. There is nothing that enters into the construction of a battle-ship, whether it be attached to the hull, installed in the turret, or fitted in the engine and boiler rooms, whose crude product is not either found in one of our States or Territories, or procurable from a port that could not be captured or controlled by a possible enemy. The armor-plant, gun-foundry, forge, powder-factory, and the structural steel-mill are positive elements in determining naval strength.

Speed in war-ship-construction and rapidity in effecting naval repairs are thus important attributes of naval strength. With our skill and resources, we ought to build a ship as rapidly as our British cousins. The more ship-building plants this country possesses, the greater will be the speed construction of war-ships, for commercial rivalry will compel corporations to keep their plants up to the highest standard, and to secure tools requisite for hastening work. It might be incidentally stated that our ship-building

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plants have got to make arrangements whereby they can contract for guns and armor as well as for engine and hull. The ship-builders of Great Britain have a great advantage over us, for several of them will contract for the ships complete, including hull, engines, armor, armament, and even coal and ammunition.

Our Transportation Facilities.—If there is one particular advantage that we possess over our commercial rivals, it is in the economy and rapidity with which we are able to handle materials. In cranes, derricks, and conveyors we are probably in the front rank. In methods of transportation, such strides have been made that "we have changed the conditions affecting the ore and coal-carrying trade, and as a result there has been made possible, by our superiority in handling the material, the lowest freight rates and the most rapid transportation in the world." When we shall meet a strong foe, it will then be found how great a military advantage we possess by our transportation facilities, since it will permit all parts of the country to contribute quickly to the defence of our coast and to the support of the Navy.

Naval Value of National Intelligence and Skill.—In all probability the military-naval value of the men of the nation is directly proportionate to their commercial worth. There are, however, thousands of men now serving on board our war-ships, who, in time of war, would of course be more valuable than the untrained recruit, no matter what station of life the latter might come from, but this will not affect the general rule. The sailor of the future must be resourceful and observing, and there is hardly a commercial attribute of substantial value necessary to a man in civil life that could not be used in some degree to advantage on ship-board. It is because intelligence and skill are of military value that a brigade of British troops dispersed the hordes of Arabi Pasha in Egypt; that a single legion of soldiers of the French Republic can keep in subjection the warlike tribes of Cochin-China; that a division of a German army corps has obtained the mastery over a million Chinamen in the Kaiser's colonial possessions near Shantung Promontory; that a comparatively few Russians dominate the Mongols of Manchuria; that fifty thousand American troops have established peace in the Philippines; and that the small band of allied troops made the masterly march from Taku to Pekin, in defiance of practically the entire Imperial army of Pechili.

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Neither the hordes of Arabi, nor the natives of any country that have attempted to thwart European aggression, fear death; for, inspired by the example of their leaders, they rush time and again up to the muzzle of machine-guns. No one can meet death more stoically than a Chinaman, so that the superiority of the trained and educated soldier does not rest in his courage. It is simply because the ignorant natives are crushed in spirit and are unable to develop their latent industrial powers that they are apparently so helpless against European troops. Once cultivate the commercial and mechanical instincts of any people, and educate them to the possibilities that are within them, and you arouse their military spirit and capabilities.

Our Army of Technological Students.—It is also going to count for naval strength that there are one hundred thousand students in this country now pursuing, at least in part, a mechanical or technical course of instruction. As the institutions are in some cases thousands of miles apart, it is impossible that the instruction of all should be of a routine character, and thus much original research and investigation is being conducted. The training that is given in many of these schools can be utilized in time of war, at least in part, for naval purposes.

The short experience of the Spanish-American war showed how quickly this material could be moulded into shape for military needs. As there are on board some war-ships over one hundred different hydraulic, pneumatic, steam or electric motors, the Navy will be benefited by having the different technological schools study and investigate the appliances used on board ship.

The engineering publications issued by the War and Navy Departments are sought by the technical schools of the country, and this is substantial evidence that naval and military needs and requirements are being considered by eminent engineers and technical educators outside of the service. Our future naval strength will be vastly increased by the interest taken in the construction and operation of a war-ship by the faculty and students of the scientific schools.

The Habit of the Sea.—Then again, only a portion of the nations who aspire to sea-power can acquire the habit of the sea. This habit of the sea is an indefinable attribute that will count for much in taking an inventory of naval strength. It is something more in a modern navy than ability to exist contentedly

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under sea conditions. It means, at the present day, decision of character, readiness of resource, powers of endurance, and the adaptability which renders it easy to make the ocean the home of one's adoption. Since the power of the fleet depends not alone upon the efficiency of the battle-ship, but likewise upon innumerable kinds of fleet auxiliaries, it is essential that men of different kinds of sea-training should be secured. The modern war-ship can only be efficiently manned by a crew possessing mechanical ability, who at the same time have the sea-habit. But seamen with different training are needed on the other ships; and, therefore, when war comes, the Navy must draw upon the fishermen and whalers of New England, the oyster-men of the Chesapeake, the sponge-divers of Florida, the sealers of Puget Sound, and the army of seafaring persons who are found at the maritime ports. When our coastwise trade is taken into consideration, our commerce rates close to that of England; and thus tens of thousands of young men are now acquiring the sea-habit.

It is a conservative opinion that, by reason of our great extent of coast, as well by the fact that so many of our citizens are employed in sea-going occupations, we are on an equality with any other naval Power as regards the prevalence among our people of the habit of the sea.

Our Material Wealth.—It should be well understood that the richer a country grows, the more bitter becomes the envy and jealousy of the less fortunate nations that were rivals for supremacy. It, therefore, becomes necessary for a nation, when it accumulates wealth, to take effective means for retaining and protecting its resources. The annual expenditures for the maintenance of an adequate Navy are best represented as an insurance premium for peace. This expenditure, like the payment on an endowment policy of an individual, should be regarded in the nature of a saving rather than a tax. If such expenditure is regularly made, the fact will be appreciated by foreign Powers that a successful conflict with a nation endowed with the resources possessed by the United States, might necessitate the expenditure upon their part of billions rather than hundreds of millions of dollars.

Those nations which are most likely to engage us in war may in part be held in check by the reflection that we might transmute some of our gold into guns, silver into shot, and produce into

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powder for the equipment of allies who are their traditional and logical enemies. Our material wealth thus may be more potent than our fleet of battle-ships, under certain circumstances, in giving us peace.

War is now a business rather than an art or science, and the only nations that can indulge in this Satanic employment and expect victory are those which possess a long purse. It is, therefore, highly probable that in the next foreign war more than one Captain of Industry will be consulted, even in regard to the movement of fleets. The man who can shorten the time of supplying ammunition or stores, expedite transportation of material, hasten repairs to battle-ships, increase the speed construction of war vessels, extend the output of armor, improve the range and endurance of the gun, and insure an adequate powder and coal supply, whether or not he wears a uniform, is a military factor that will count in the next conflict.

Direful Consequences of Modern War.—War is not only a business, but it is one of the most cruel nature. General Sherman tersely said, "War is Hell." In these days, when there is a merger of great financial, manufacturing and transportation interests, and the whole tendency of the times seems towards consolidation, there is an absence of pity and sympathy for the individual. The man who is crushed by an alliance of strong factors is rather regarded as one who is not abreast of the times, and who could not adapt himself to existing conditions. Equally little consideration will be paid any nation that cannot hold its own in the race for trade or territorial expansion. The same fate that awaited the Boers will come to any vanquished nation that has exhausted its resources in waging war with a Power that seeks its territory or trade.

While we may believe that we were quite lenient in the demands that we made upon Spain, it is certain that the Spaniards themselves must think quite differently, as they review the loss of Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. There is hardly a German who does not think that too little indemnity was demanded of France by the Treaty of Versailles, and yet the world at that time stood aghast at the terms exacted. If we get into another foreign war, it will either cause a check to the wealth, influence, and maritime development of this Republic, or it will drive from the Western Continent, and possibly from certain portions of Asia,

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the trade as well as the flag of the country that provokes us to battle. When giants contend for supremacy they fight to a finish, and in future wars the great Powers, upon entering war, must be prepared to stake their all. The realization of this truth has been no inconsiderable factor in maintaining a truce between nations that are possibly natural enemies.

Our Military Strength.—Intimately associated with naval strength are the great powers and resources that could be supplied by the Army. The defence that could be made by shore fortifications ought best to be told by some one connected with the military branch. It is certain that, despite the combined work of both Army and Navy, an enemy might find it as easy a matter to land as to disembark a contingent of troops. Through carelessness, or by some mistake upon our part, a few hostile troops might effect a landing; but, once they landed, few would ever get home. The same thing might be said of battle-ships. While we may not be able to prevent hostile vessels from reaching our coast, it is highly probable that we would prevent many from returning to their home base.

Our Actual Strength Fully Comprehended by Those High in Authority.—It is fortunate for the good of every navy, as well as for the peace of the world, that those in executive control of affairs fully realize that other resources than fleets of battle-ships and large standing armies are requisite to wage a modern war. And it has been through some wise dispensation of Providence that modern navies have been developed along lines that make them exceedingly weak for distant operations.

The performance of the "Oregon" may be cited to disprove the general truth of the statement as to the weakness of the modern battle-ship for distant service. But the work of that vessel in reaching the Cuban coast in a high state of efficiency after her long journey from Puget Sound was phenomenal, and will seldom, if ever, be repeated by a battle-ship. It was absolutely an engineering triumph to reach the battle-line in the condition in which she did, and the engineering world, if not the naval experts will measure the performance of that part of her work from this standpoint.

The magnificent work of the "Oregon" will stand for a long time as a spur and incentive rather than as a precedent that can be expected of other battle-ships. The repairs effected at the Navy

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Yards shortly after the battle of Santiago, upon the other battle-ships that were in that fight, will better tell of the average condition of affairs that will result on board a modern battle-ship when operating even a short distance from a home base. It is, therefore, possible for practically every nation to put up a strong defence, and thus the Powers that provoke a conflict will generally be compelled to force operations, and one need not have prophetic talents to foresee that nearly every victory under such circumstances would be a small remove from defeat.

It was because President Cleveland, with that military genius which seems to inspire some civil administrators in times of great emergency, clearly saw that the eventual outcome of a possible contest would favor that country which could remain longest on the battle-line, that he gave the world a great surprise in his Venezuelan message. With that broadness of mind, and with that fearlessness of consequences in the discharge of plain duty which characterized his official actions, he gave every possible foe to understand that the military strength of America was not evidenced alone by the number of our battle-ships. And it was because he knew that threatened dangers could not become actualities that he made this statement:

"Firm in my conviction that, while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization, and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness. . . . In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibilities incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow."

He thoroughly understood that the contest would not be altogether between guns, but possibly between resources. Probably he had also in mind, in measuring consequences, the remark of General Sherman, who stated that the difference between himself and General Grant rested in the fact that in planning battle, he (General Sherman) could more clearly see the losses that would be suffered by himself, while the man of Appomatox looked for the injury that would be inflicted upon his foe.

It was likewise, probably, a clear and comprehensive knowledge

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of our immense military strength in North-American waters, and of the inability of the fleet of any nation to do effective and continuous work in distant waters against any nation with a good-sized navy, combined with that great love and tenderness of heart which he possessed, that prompted President McKinley to appeal so long and earnestly to Spain to discontinue an administrative policy in Cuba, whose prolongation would inevitably lead to war. But the time having come when only a call to arms could decide the questions at issue, there was a confidence in our Chief Executive as to the outcome that was reflected in that message to Congress wherein he said:

"The position of Spain being thus made known and the demands of the United States being denied, with a complete rupture of intercourse, by the act of Spain, I have been constrained, in exercise of the power and authority conferred upon me by joint resolution to proclaim, under date of April 22, 1898, a blockade of certain ports of the north coast of Cuba. . . .

"In view of the measures so taken, and with a view to the adoption of such other measures as may be necessary to enable me to carry out the expressed will of the Congress of the United States in the premises, I now recommend to your honorable body the adoption of a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain; and I urge speedy action thereon, to the end that the definition of the international status of the United States with the belligerent Power may be made known and the assertion of all its rights and the maintenance of all its duties in the conduct of a public war may be assured."

The events of the past two months show that the President has had no apprehension of trouble, either from a single nation or with any combination of Powers whose community of interests may prompt them for a time to work in accord. In his Annual Message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, President Roosevelt gave expression to his belief in our powers of defence, and his assurance of continued peace, by declaring:

"There is not a cloud on the horizon at present. There seems not the slightest chance of trouble with a foreign Power. We most earnestly hope that this state of things may continue, and the way to insure its continuance is to provide for a thoroughly efficient Navy."

The Navy is thus a guarantee for peace, but if we possessed battle-ships alone, without the agricultural, mineral, manufacturing, and material resources that are at the command of this nation,

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then we should soon be at the mercy of those who are looking for colonial and commercial extension.

An Adequate and Efficient Navy, A Factor For Peace.—In thus briefly recalling the auxiliary attributes of naval strength, there has been no desire or purpose to lead any one to the belief that we should not continue to provide for a stronger Navy, both as regards personnel and material.

We need an efficient service, of such strength that it could hold its own, at least near our own coast, with any fleet that could be assembled even by a combination of Powers. And yet, to effect this purpose, we need not possess the largest navy, for the modern battle-ship has so many engineering weaknesses that the actual force that could be brought here, even by a league of foreign Powers, would be only a fraction of the strength that some experts believe could be assembled.

Either by reason of our material wealth, force of circumstances, or manifest destiny, we have become a World Power. The Navy is the best instrument that can be used for the extension of trade, protection of commerce, securing justice to those weaker nations of this continent who are helpless to resist stronger Powers, and even for the preservation of that honor and self-respect which are essential to keep alive the spirit of liberty.

The Navy should be the glory of our great people, and its size should be commensurate with the character and extent of the interests that it may be called upon to defend. There need be but little fear that for many years it can be too large. It is a service that a Dictator has never been able to bring to his support.

The Parable of the Talents can be well applied to the Navy. The Master, who in this case is the people, will receive a return from the naval service directly proportional to the size of the talents which have been given for its creation, maintenance and operation.

It has made for the peace of the world that the navies of the several leading Powers are powerful shields of defence, but uncertain weapons for distant work, and thus a conflict between great fleets can only be expected between Powers whose possessions are not distant from one another.

GEO. W. MELVILLE.

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LEGAL PENALTIES AND PUBLIC OPINION.

BY JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

We labor all our lives to make what is outside of us correspond with what is inside of us—to adapt our environment to ourselves and ourselves to our environment, reciprocally; and the successful and happy man is he who most nearly accomplishes this end. If my coat does not fit me, I have it altered; if my house does not suit me, I rent another, or build one, if I have the means. Some persons wear their hair banged, others brushed back, to accord with some obscure temperamental bias. Napoleon the Third used to train his mustache into points; William of Germany forces his to assume the form of the outspread wings of the national eagle; in a word, spirit controls matter more or less, and the further civilization advances, the more complete may we expect this control to become.

But, while matter is thus growing more and more docile, our legal statutes, which belong not to the physical but to the spiritual plane, manifest a singular obduracy and lack of willingness to adjust themselves to the changing views of ethics and morals which are characteristic of our age. A law—a human law—is not a house, or a mountain, or a suit of clothes, it is merely the statement, in mandatory form, by competent authority, of what is considered to be right, with adequate penalties for disobedience. But as time goes on, and knowledge enlarges, our ideas of what is right, and of what is competent authority, alter. Do the laws alter sympathetically? One would suppose that they would; but they do not; and it is really easier to throw a bridge across the Hudson, or to dig away a mountain, than to expunge from the statute books an established law. It is not so much the laws themselves that hurt us, in this altered state of our views, as the

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penalties which they decree; but, of course, a law with no penalty behind it would not be, practically, a law at all.

With natural or divine laws, no one quarrels. We recognize their equity and inevitableness, and their penalties are inherent in them. If I take poison, I am ill; if I lie, I shall by-and-by lose all credit among my neighbors. Human laws are not of this order. They are man-made, and therefore arbitrary. If they are comparatively just and intelligent, thus approximating to divine or natural laws, we hear very little about them; they are accepted as formulas to promote the transaction of business and the adjustment of human relations. Such laws may be cumbersome in wording or operation; but, until the community has been trained up to a level of humanity and light where each individual's knowledge and desire for right are sufficient for the end in view, they cannot be dispensed with. Our criminal law, however, does not stand on the same ground as our other law, because its penalties involve the liberty or life of the criminal. It is here that public opinion or sentiment begins to appear as having advanced beyond the stage of our development in which our criminal laws were enacted.

We are beginning to question, in short, whether the community has the right to inflict physical punishment upon any of its members. The lightest punishment inflicted under legal sanction is the fine; which is in fact a form of imprisonment, since taking away a man's money restricts him, in a greater or less degree, in his freedom to carry out his desires in the world around him. Actual imprisonment in a gaol inhibits his will and action altogether, so long as the imprisonment lasts. But it has also a contingent effect, in that it forces him to associate with other imprisoned persons, whose influence upon his mind and morals may be injurious. Therefore, a man committed to gaol is likely to emerge at the end of his term a worse man than he was when he began it. This result is not contemplated by the statute; but it occurs, because a prison necessarily herds together its occupants, and cannot control their mutual association together according to their respective degrees of criminality. Evil communications, which corrupt good manners, make bad manners still more corrupt. The ideal form of imprisonment would be that which imprisoned each culprit individually, subjecting him meanwhile to influences morally hygienic. It would involve, in other words,

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restraining him, for a term, from doing further overt mischief, while subjecting him to good and elevating associations; but this would imply a devotion on the part of the community to its erring members which is still regarded as Utopian. We have got far beyond an illogical attitude in treating physical diseases; we remove the patient from all hurtful conditions, we give him fresh air, and clean bedding and clothing, and we render the instruments with which we operate upon him immaculate with antiseptic appliances. Medicine, imperfect though it still is, does often cure its patients; criminal imprisonment does so very rarely, if at all. And yet no one would deny that the moral health of the community is more important than its bodily vigor, if the choice between the two had to be made.

As regards crime, the main distinction between divine and human laws is, that the former operate upon the criminal subjectively, attacking his conscience, or, if that be callous, progressively degrading him in the moral sphere; whereas the latter operates upon him from the outside, objectively, with the assumption, at best, that physical suffering may induce him to attempt moral improvement. Human law is also obliged, unlike divine law, to ignore in a great measure the question of motives, temptations, and individual circumstances and conditions; it can take effective cognizance only of the act itself. Obviously, a separate law could not be framed for each individual culprit. And yet strict justice would demand nothing less than that. For, plainly, the overt act is of subordinate significance if we take the individual's point of view, and not (as we do) that of the injured community only. The thing of prime significance is the moral responsibility of the culprit in any given case. Some men, for one or another cause, are distinctly and undeniably less able to resist temptations than others; and, in strict justice, they should not undergo for their acts the same severity of penalty which is inflicted upon those who, knowing better, and better able to restrain themselves, yet commit crime. Of course, as we have before remarked, it is not the attitude of the prohibiting law itself which is of practical moment, nearly so much as the penalty which accompanies its breaking. In point of fact, the law against crime punishes, every day, with the same penalties, culprits of widely varying degrees of guilt—"guilt" being moral responsibility for evil acts committed. Such is legal justice; but is it just?

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Imprisonment, however, as a legal penalty, is of secondary importance; what is of first importance, relatively to our present inquiry, is the legal penalty of death. For imprisonment may be revoked; in most cases it is, at any rate, not final; the man gets out at last, and has another chance, small though it may be. The community has injured him, perhaps—has done him some injustice; but the injury or injustice is not necessarily irrevocable. But if the law kill a man, there is no redress, no possibility of making good; that has been taken away from the man which can never be restored to him, and which he received from another than a human or legal source. In meddling with life, we are meddling with a mystery which we do not understand nor can control; and we are doing something whose ultimate effects we cannot calculate. Men, it is to be assumed, are put into this world by their Creator to work out their destinies in this world; it is not designed by Him that they should be cut short in their careers, however evil they may be, by any mortal act or decree. While there is life, there may always be a chance of improvement in the individual; or, at any rate, there is a possibility that his life and example—even his evil life and his evil example—may be of some use in its effect upon others; and we must assume that if he be allowed to finish the natural term of his existence here, he will be in a more favorable situation as regards his career in the other world than he would be if his life here were arbitrarily cut short.

It may seem to us, no doubt, that the injury which his continued existence threatens to the community is more to be considered than any injury or injustice which the legal act of the community may inflict upon him; and that the greatest good of the greatest number is the thing to be looked to. But this is a mere inference or hypothesis on our part; we can never adduce any proof of it. For the law and the community both assume that the man has an immortal soul. What becomes of the immortal soul of an executed murderer? Nobody can tell. All we know is that his body is no more; and, as we suppose that his evil acts can be rendered effective only through his body, we infer that we are, at any rate, freed from any further danger from him. But are we? Is it not true that the evil which men do lives after them? Does not the legal execution of a criminal concentrate public attention upon him and upon his crime?

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And are there not innumerable morbid minds more apt to derive corruption from dwelling upon the latter than good from reflecting upon his punishment? There is an old superstition that murderers haunt the scenes of their crimes after their own death; is it not reasonable, rather than superstitious, to suppose that their evil spiritual influence may haunt the minds of those similarly predisposed, and influence them to commit the crime which, otherwise, they might have had strength to avoid?

Let us take an illustration from contemporary facts. There have of late been many lynchings of negroes for the crime of assault. These lynchings are inflicted, avowedly, for the purpose of terrorizing other negroes from committing the same offence. But experience has shown this remedy to be more than ineffective; indeed, the crime of assault by negroes has constantly increased in those neighborhoods where the lynchings have taken place. The bodies of the offending negroes have been destroyed; but not their souls—not the evil impulse which used their bodies as a helpless instrument. The real criminal has not been killed, but he has been set free, with his evil propensities unaltered. Can these evil propensities act upon us after the death of the bodies through which they were carried out? Is there no influence possible from the spiritual upon the material world except through the medium of a living body? That is a question to which no one is competent to reply; but there are many grounds for believing that such an influence may be possible. And if it be possible, then our executions, whether by law or by lynch law, so far from relieving the community from dangers, may be in truth accumulating in potent form precisely the source of mischief which they are ignorantly trying to dissipate.

I say nothing of the direct evil and brutalizing effect upon a community of lynchings and torturings; or even of the similar, though lighter, effects of regular legal executions. But we remember, a few generations ago, when men could be executed for a dozen or a score of crimes, instead of for one only, as now, the communities were much more brutal than they now are. So, even if it be conceded that we have a right to subordinate the consideration of the individual's best welfare to that of the community, we are yet far from having proved that legal executions do, in fact, conduce to the community's welfare. Reason and experience are united in indicating that they are hostile to the

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welfare of the community; and few persons, at this day, will maintain that they can do the executed persons any good. If we adopt a certain measure, in itself of questionable propriety, to gain a desired end, we ought at least to be sure that the measure will accomplish that end, instead of the very opposite. We should be assured that, instead of accomplishing a right by means of a wrong, we are not accomplishing a worse wrong by it.

The fact that arguments against the infliction of capital punishment are anything but a novelty does not imply that they are of small weight, but just the opposite of that. They have weight because they are familiar; they are in everybody's mouth. They are in everybody's mouth, because they embody the awakened and elevated sense of the community. But if they represent the sense of the community, ought they not to be recognized and acted upon by our criminal law? For if our criminal law does not stand for what we, the makers of the law, think and believe on that subject, what does it stand for?

Why, then, is the criminal law not altered to correspond with our present convictions? That question is readily answered. Although human law, abstractly regarded, does no doubt belong to the mental or spiritual sphere, concretely regarded it is much complicated with material conditions. It is a vast organism, inter-related in all its parts, written down, codified, and printed in books. From these books it is studied and committed to memory by generation after generation of lawyers; former applications of it are quoted to affect decisions under it in the present. In order to repeal such laws, acts of legislature must be passed; but legislatures, fearing censure from constituents, or indifferent to their wishes, or ignorant of these wishes, are slow to make such enactments; and the reform is constantly postponed. Even were we all agreed upon the point at issue, and—what is more difficult—were we aware of our own agreement, it would still be a labor of time, expense and trouble to make the desired changes.

Such are the obstacles; nevertheless, in spite of them, changes have been made in our laws, all of them favoring greater gentleness and humanity in the way of legal penalties. Murder, as we have noted, is the only crime now punishable with death. The so-called Blue Laws have not been formally repealed, but we have so thoroughly outgrown them that repeal is not considered neces-

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sary. The Blue Laws, however, had reference to matters of comparatively trifling moment; but the law against murder is not in that category; we feel that to change that would be a really momentous reform. That law cannot be simply ignored, like the others. To repeal or alter it would, we feel, be a great enterprise, involving new definitions of what is right and wrong, and of prescribing proper penalties for wrong-doing, not only as regards murder, but as to other crimes. And from this enterprise we shrink. At all events, we shrink from removing the death penalty for the crime of murder, though we do not scruple to declare in private that it might expediently be removed, because our view of the inner nature of the problem of moral responsibility has been modified. The consequence is that the community is killing men, while at the same time it is disapproving, unofficially, of capital executions. The disadvantages of this situation are manifest.

There was a time, when the community was more ignorant and brutal than it now is, when executions did, perhaps, comparatively little harm. But that time is passed. And if executions were not edifying even when they were supposed to be just, much less are they edifying when they are believed to be unjust. But we are come to a pass even worse than this; for, though the law of capital punishment still stands on the books, yet the law is aware of the tide of public opinion setting against its infliction; and, though this tide has not as yet availed to secure a formal repeal of that law, it has materially modified the regularity and certainty of its infliction. And to pretend to execute criminal law, and at the same time to seek all pretexts for not executing it, is almost or quite as demoralizing to the community as would be the resolute carrying out of the law, knowing it to be wrong.

The written law for the execution of murderers being at odds with the unwritten sense of the community on the subject, what happens? We still arraign the criminal, and put him through his trial; and if his guilt be proved, we convict him. Do we then proceed at once to kill him? If we, as represented in the law, had the courage of our opinions, we would do so. But the law, because it is conscious of no longer reflecting public opinion, is very slow and reluctant to do so. The law has trained up a body of lawyers for the express purpose, it would almost seem, not of interpreting the law with a view to its being carried out, but to paralyze its action, to pick holes in its decisions, and in all possi-

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ble ways to delay its penalties. Law is constantly becoming a more complicated study, no doubt, and precedents can be quoted in various senses, and perhaps the acumen which detects technical flaws has been sharpened by practice; but, after all legitimate allowances have been made, there remains in the procedure of our courts a great deal which might justly be termed license. And this license, be it observed, is uniformly exercised on the side of the criminal. Not content with wearing threadbare the legal maxim that an accused person must be considered innocent until proved guilty, counsel for the defence will not admit him guilty even then, and they never show so much activity on behalf of their client as after the verdict of condemnation has been rendered. Then begins the real work of getting him free. A stay is sought from other judges, and some other judge is always found who will grant it. Appeals are taken; new trials are obtained; if all else fails, the governor is besought for a pardon, and all manner of political, social and other pressure is brought to bear. Meanwhile, the condemned murderer sits in his death cell, anxious no doubt, but far from being hopeless. He feels that the very community which he is supposed to have injured is eager for his pardon or ultimate acquittal, and that the law which condemned him is hardly less eager to find some pretext, no matter how thin, for making a legal loophole through which he may crawl. It does sometimes happen that he is executed after all; but instances will be recalled by every one in which notorious criminals have finally escaped. The man in the street will say of these: "He was guilty all right; but he's had two or three years in gaol; he's been punished enough." Does not this sort of thing breed a disregard for law much greater than had the statute been repealed? The man in the street does not discriminate finely, but assumes that, the law against murderers having proved impotent, the law about other acts will be found lax also.

In a typical murder trial, who is the most unpopular person in the court-room. Not the murderer in the dock, but the People's attorney who is trying to secure his conviction! The criminal committed his murder some time ago, and popular animosity against him has subsided; but the prosecutor stands before us visibly seeking the blood of a fellow creature. The flowers and the sympathy of the audience all go to the dock; the scowls and hisses are reserved for the lawyer for the People. The reason

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obviously is not that the audience loves murder or murderers, but that it no longer approves of the legal method of punishing murderers, and is glad to witness its failure. In other words, the audience triumphs not over real justice miscarrying, but over the defeat of an injustice which is only legally just. We are formally in the wrong, but actually we are in the right. But to be against the execution of the laws, and yet to be morally right, is next door to anarchy; and the only remedy is to repeal the law.

But though the community does not approve of executions, it does not, either, wish the murderer to go scot-free, or not to be tried and convicted for his crime. We are willing that some penalty should be inflicted upon him; only it must be one with which we are in sympathy. We are not yet so "advanced" as to be ready to leave the murderer to his own conscience entirely; but we do not wish him to be killed, and we are not even quite sure that we wish to have him imprisoned for life, or for twenty years. There is, indeed, a strong minority of us who are in favor of treating all criminals as diseased persons, more or less irresponsible for their criminal acts; who would have doctors argue cases and sit on the bench, instead of lawyers and judges; and who would multiply hospitals, instead of prisons and electric chairs. But this solution of the problem, though urged with plausibility, is not generally admitted. Most of us still believe that there are persons who are wicked, and do wicked deeds knowing them to be such. What, then, shall be done?

The main thing desirable, apparently, is to devise some form of penalty which, while leaving the criminal free to go about in the world, and to mingle, if he chose, with better creatures than himself, should yet keep him continually mindful of his crime, and enable others to be aware of it. Such a penalty would seem more likely than any other to act as a warning and preventive to him, and as a safeguard to others. It would mark him as one who had sinned, but who was presumably anxious (for his own sake, if not unselfishly) to amend. It would, in short, put him in much the same condition as that provided by the divine law of conscience. Is there any means whereby this could be done?

A means is suggested by an antique penalty which used to be enforced upon law-breakers two hundred and more years ago, in our old Colonial days. Such persons, having been convicted, were sentenced to be branded with a letter or other mark indicating the

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nature of the crime of which they had been guilty. Why might not we decree some modification of this device? The mark need not be branded on his flesh with a hot iron; it might be tattoed; it ought to be indelible. It need not necessarily be placed where all could see it at all times; but it would be fixed upon him where, should he ever repeat his offence, it could always be found by the officers of the law. In not more than one case in a thousand, perhaps, would he ever repeat his offence; but should he do so, he might be again branded, this time where all could see the mark. This seems, at first sight, but a slight punishment for murder; but we are to remember that punishment is not the object which our enlightened public sentiment demands, but the reformation of the criminal—the discouraging him from further iniquity; and if we think of it well, we shall find that few devices could be imagined more apt than this to render overt iniquity undesirable. The secret consciousness of bearing that indelible mark—the dread of its revelation to the public eye—would operate to make the man hesitate many times before doing evil again.

Not less beneficial would be the effect upon our legal procedure in criminal cases. After the crime had been proved, no jury would hesitate, on any merely technical grounds, to convict; no lawyer for the defence would deem it worth his while to appeal; no audience in the court would feel disposed to murmur for clemency, or to make a hero of the criminal. The law would not be cheated, or its majesty insulted, because its decree would be consonant with public opinion. And it would be less often broken, because criminals would know that, if proved guilty, they could not hope to escape.

Certainly, the result could produce no state of affairs worse than exists at present. Murder trials have become almost farces. Soon, no respectable lawyers will be found willing to undertake the prosecution of murder cases. Their defeat is generally a foregone conclusion, and if they happen to succeed, their only reward is public odium. They are like the villains in the melodrama, who are hissed precisely because they act their parts so well.

Somehow or other, and at no distant day, the abolition of capital punishment will be decreed. Some other penalty must then be invented. It may not be the one here suggested; but suggestions are in order, and this is offered for what it may be worth.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

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RECIPROCITY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

BY THE HON. J. W. LONGLEY, K.C., D.C.L., ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NOVA SCOTIA.

THE question of reciprocity is being revived by certain commercial bodies in the United States. It is desirable that the people of the United States should be duly and fully advised as to the history of this question up to the present time. Perhaps this is the more necessary inasmuch as no active steps in the direction of reciprocity are being taken by the Canadian people.

In 1854, a reciprocity treaty was negotiated between Lord Elgin, at that time Governor-General of Canada, representing the Imperial authorities, and Mr. W. L. Marcy, Secretary of State, providing for the free admission of certain natural products and of some articles which could be perhaps classed in the category of manufactures. That treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States and by the legislatures of the several provinces of British North America.

This treaty of 1854 certainly worked advantageously to both parties. The total volume of trade between the United States and British North America in 1854 amounted, in round figures, to but $20,000,000; the volume of trade between the two countries in 1866 had risen to $84,000,000. The remark is not unfrequently made by public men in the United States that the treaty worked unfavorably to the United States. The statistics do not justify this observation. During the period of 1854-66, Canada imported from the United States $306,418,890 worth of products, and, during the same period, Canada exported to the United States $187,271,080 worth. These figures are official and easily capable of verification. Yet, while the balance of trade was distinctly in favor of the United States during almost the entire life of the

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treaty, no movement was made on the part of any of the British North-American provinces to have the treaty terminated. That movement came entirely from the United States. Under a vote of Congress, the President gave the year's notice required by the treaty of its termination, and its operation came to an end in 1866. Some reasons were assigned by Congress for this action. One was, that, owing to the heavy expenditures of the war, it was necessary to adopt a high tariff for the purpose of raising a revenue to meet the interest upon the large national debt, as well as the growing expenditures of the country; and this, of course, may have been a justification for such a step. But another reason assigned was, that while the treaty was in operation the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had imposed higher duty upon articles which were not embraced in the provisions of the treaty. This is true, but it must be stated that this applied to all countries alike, and was as operative upon goods imported from Great Britain as upon those from the United States. The increase in duties was also justifiable at the time, because the Canadian Government found itself face to face with a heavy deficit, and increased revenue was a necessity. These duties were not raised for any ulterior purpose, but were demanded by the fiscal needs of the hour. It must be added that even the increase so made in the Canadian tariff did not raise it to a point equal to the American tariff on similar articles. When a protest was made on the part of the American authorities, during the operation of the treaty, the matter was referred by the United States Secretary of the Treasury to Mr. James W. Taylor for special examination and report, and the following extract from Mr. Taylor's report to the Secretary makes this point sufficiently clear:

"Our manufacturers demand that Canada shall restore the scale of duties existing when the reciprocity treaty was renewed, on penalty of its abrogration. When it is considered that the duties imposed by the American tariff of 1857 are fully twenty-five per cent. higher than the corresponding rates of the Canadian tariff, the demand borders on arrogance."

There is reason to fear that a very potent cause which influenced Congress in seeking to terminate this treaty was irritation on account of supposed sympathy with the rebels in certain parts of Canada, although no step was taken on the part of the Canadian Government during the rebellion which justifies the belief that Canada pursued any other policy than one of strict neutrality.

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This treaty of 1854-66 was not terminated at the instance of the great commercial bodies of the United States. The Chicago Board of Trade adopted a resolution declaring, "that the treaty has been of great value to the producing interests of the whole Northwest." In January, 1864, the Chamber of Commerce at Milwaukee adopted a resolution favoring "a new treaty founded upon the true principles of reciprocity." On March 8th, 1864, the Board of Trade of Boston adopted a resolution setting forth that "the continuance of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 is of great moment to both countries, and is demanded by the interests of American commerce." The Detroit Board of Trade passed a resolution in favor of a continuance of the treaty until a new one could be made; and a committee of that body made a report upon the subject on the 9th of November, 1864, in these words:

> "This action makes the decision of the agricultural and commercial interests of the Northwest almost unanimous in favor of the continuance of the treaty. . . . In whatever light we view the treaty it has been of vast importance to us as well as to the Colonials."

If one thing is absolutely clear in connection with American legislation, it is that the views of the politicians at Washington always prevail as against the views of the commercial bodies of that country, and the time has not yet been reached when Boards of Trade can, in any marked degree, influence the action of Congress in respect of political questions.

When this treaty was terminated, the various provinces of British North America were engaged in a great movement for the Confederation of British North America, which, as a matter of fact, was consummated on July 1st, 1867; but, even before Confederation had become an accomplished fact, the Government of Canada took steps to secure, if possible, reciprocal trade relations with the United States. The Hon. Messrs. Galt and Howland, representing the Dominion Government, were sent as a delegation to Washington, in the autumn of 1865, for the purpose of pressing upon the American authorities the question of reciprocal trade relations. Nothing definite was accomplished by this mission, although the understanding reached was that any improved trade relations between the two countries should be brought about by concurrent legislation rather than by treaty.

In 1869, the Hon. John Rose, Finance Minister of Canada, was

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duly delegated by the Canadian Government to go to Washington to make efforts to secure reciprocity, but his efforts in that direction proved totally unavailing.

In the session of the Canadian Parliament of 1870, the question of reciprocity between the United States and Canada was very fully discussed, and strong expressions of opinion were offered in favor of the renewal of the treaty of 1854-66, or of negotiating some other treaty that would be fair and just to all parties; and in framing the Canadian tariff of 1868, the Government added to the Customs Act a schedule of natural products, such as animals, meats, fruits, fish, poultry, butter, cheese, tallow, timber, lumber, etc., which were to be admitted free into Canada whenever the United States should provide for the importation of similar goods from Canada into that country free of duty—which must be interpreted as a standing offer on the part of the Canadian Government to the United States of reciprocal trade.

In 1873, there was a change of government in Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald having been defeated, and Mr. Alexander MacKenzie called upon to form a new administration. One of the acts of that Government, in 1874, was the appointment of the Hon. George Brown, one of the ablest public men in Canada, and one who has been most active in endeavoring to secure reciprocity, to go to Washington and negotiate a treaty of reciprocity. In fulfilment of this mission, Mr. Brown went to Washington and was associated for this purpose with the British Minister at Washington. He succeeded in framing a treaty of reciprocity which, while it was open to some criticism from a Canadian point of view, may be regarded in the main as fair, and providing for a larger measure of reciprocity than the treaty of 1854-66. But it was instantly rejected by the Senate of the United States.

In 1871, when the Washington treaty was being negotiated between Great Britain and the United States, at one period the American Commissioners made a proposition of free wood, coal, salt and lumber. Sir John A. Macdonald, who was the special representative of Canada on the British Commission, desired time for the consideration of this proposition; but, when he was prepared to discuss it, the American Commissioners withdrew the offer and declined to consider, during the entire negotiations, any proposition whatever relating to a free interchange of commodities between the two countries. The only concession obtained by

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the treaty of 1871 was that certain kinds of fish were to be admitted free into the United States during the continuance of the treaty, and it must be borne in mind that it was at the instance of the United States authorities that the treaty of 1871 was terminated.

A strong movement in favor of reciprocity was inaugurated in Canada in 1887, and continued vigorously until the elections of 1891. The Liberal party in the Canadian parliament, under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, adopted a policy of unrestricted reciprocity, which meant, not necessarily that all articles between the two countries should be free of duty, but that the Liberal party were prepared to discuss reciprocity between the two countries without any limitations or restrictions.

While this movement was in active operation in Canada, great efforts were made to secure sympathy and support from recognized authorities in the United States; Messrs. Butterworth and Hitt, in the House of Representatives, and Senator Sherman, in the Senate, took a course decidedly favorable to reciprocity with Canada, and some of the great commercial bodies in the United States, such as the Boston Merchants' Association, The New York Board of Trade and Transportation, and others, passed resolutions favorable to a large measure of reciprocity between the two countries; but from the Executive of the United States nothing definite could be obtained, nor could any action of Congress be quoted as endorsing the proposition of reciprocity with Canada.

The contest in 1891 was a very severe one, unrestricted reciprocity being the great battle cry of the Liberal or Opposition party; and, to forestall as far as possible the effect of popular sentiment in favor of reciprocity, the Government dissolved the House, with assurances that an arrangement had been made with Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, by which a delegation from the Canadian Government was to be received in Washington for the purpose of considering the question of reciprocity. The Government was sustained in the elections of 1891 and a delegation was sent to Washington; but, on its arrival there, it was informed by the Secretary of State that no negotiations to this end were possible, unless upon the basis of discriminating duties against other countries and a common tariff against the world. This could not be considered by the Canadian representatives.

Under these circumstances, the Liberal party of Canada was

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compelled to drop reciprocity as the chief plank in its platform, and to call a convention in 1893 to formulate its policy and its grounds of objection to the existing administration. In the resolution then adopted, the following is declared as the embodiment of Liberal policy on this question of reciprocity:

> "That the Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with the view of obtaining such a treaty and including a well-considered list of manufactured articles, and we are satisfied that any treaty so arranged will receive the assent of her Majesty's government, without whose approval no treaty can be made."

At the general elections of 1896, the Government, under the leadership of Sir Charles Tupper, was defeated, and the Liberals, under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, came into power. In the five years that had intervened, the question of reciprocity with the United States had very considerably fallen into the background, and was obscured by other issues which were brought more prominently to the front. As a matter of fact, the Liberal party was compelled to abandon unrestricted reciprocity as a definite issue, for two reasons—one was, that it seemed calculated to wound the feelings of the majority of Canadians, who were loyal to the Empire, and who desired that no step might be taken which might cause strained relations with the Mother Country; and the second was, that no tangible sympathy with or support to their views was obtainable from any responsible party, either legislative or executive, at Washington.

Nevertheless, the accession of the Liberal Government, in 1896, revived hopes in many minds in Canada that a reciprocity treaty with the United States might again become feasible. The Conservative Government, which had been in power from 1878 to 1896, was a protectionist government and few persons in Canada had any faith in its sincerity in seeking reciprocity with the United States, and very many of the supporters of the Liberal party throughout Canada were disposed to believe that, now that an administration had come into office composed of men who really desired reciprocity, a more favorable issue might be expected.

Some time after the Government had been formed, a joint High Commission, nominally between Great Britain and the United States, but really between Canada and the United States, was called into existence. The British Government was represented

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on this Joint High Commission by Lord Herschel, and all the other members of the Commission, namely, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Louis Davies and Mr. John Charlton represented Canada. On the part of the United States, the Joint High Commission consisted of Senators Fairbanks and Gray, and Messrs. John W. Foster, Kasson, Dingley and Coolidge.

The purpose of this Joint High Commission was to consider various questions that were at issue between the two countries,—fisheries, Bering Sea, navigation of the St. Lawrence, bonding privileges, Alaska boundaries, etc.; but it was fully expected and believed that reciprocity between the two countries would be a foremost subject of consideration by the Joint High Commission. The full official results of the deliberations of this body, which met not only at Washington but at Quebec, have not yet become public; but enough is known to justify the statement that the American Commissioners practically refused to consider the question of commercial reciprocity between the two countries.

The failure of the Liberal government, therefore, to achieve anything in the direction of reciprocal arrangements, made it absolutely necessary for the Canadian people to recognize that reciprocity with the United States was an impossibility, and, facing these conditions, to prepare to develop their country in other directions. This important fact—that reciprocity was out of the question—became manifest at a time when the industrial life of the country was at flood tide, and the result has been in every way such as to make the Canadian people feel extremely comfortable.

The total volume of trade in Canada in 1896 amounted to $239,025,360; in 1900, it reached $381,517,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1902, it had attained the enormous sum of $423,940,444, having nearly doubled in six years. Indeed, in proportion to population, the volume of trade of Canada is vastly greater than that of the United States. In the year 1900, the trade of Canada represented $71.00 per head of its population; in the same year, in the United States, it represented $29.76 per head. During the past four or five years, Canada has enjoyed an era of prosperity unsurpassed by any nation on the face of the earth, and its industrial and commercial progress has been as great and as rapid as in any similar period in the United States from its earliest history; and, therefore, it is merely to state a fact, recognized by every sensible man in Canada, to observe that the

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Canadian people have reached the conclusion that no further efforts will be made on the part of Canada to secure reciprocity with the United States. If the movement now on foot in the great commercial centres of the United States results in such a volume of public opinion as to induce the American authorities to desire reciprocal trade with Canada, unquestionably the Canadian Government will receive propositions of this kind in a fair and generous spirit; but, when this is said, one or two reservations will probably have to be made. During the past twenty years, especially during the past six years, the industrial life of Canada has made enormous advances, and the manufacturing industries have reached a stage at which it is quite impossible for the Canadian Government to ignore them. If a proposition came from the United States for reciprocity, which should include any large schedule of manufactured goods, it is, to say the least, open to doubt if such a treaty would, at this moment, be adopted by the Canadian parliament.

During these last few years of great commercial development in Canada, the United States have been profiting more by Canadian trade than any other nation in the world. The chief trade of Canada is with Great Britain and the United States. The total imports from Great Britain by the Canadian people for the fiscal year ending June, 1902, were $49,206,062; during the same period the imports from the United States were $120,814,750. But while the imports from the United States are thus enormously greater than those from Great Britain, it must be borne in mind that our exports to Great Britain have been enormously greater than our exports to the United States. The statistics for the year 1901 are as follows:

Exports to the United States	$70,000,000
Exports to Great Britain	105,000,000

It is probable that the official figures for 1902 will indicate a large export to both countries, but the proportion will not be materially altered.

The American tariff upon goods likely to pass between the two countries is very much higher than the Canadian tariff. Upon many articles the American tariff is prohibitive; hence it is that, while Canada is deriving her greatest wealth from sales in the British market, which is absolutely open and free to our com-

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modities, we are prevented sending goods into the United States market on account of the tariff wall; and it must be borne in mind that many of these articles are as much needed in the United States as a market for them is needed by Canada. There have been times, within the past year, when the abolition of the duty upon coal, upon iron ore, and even upon steel billets, would have inured more to the advantage of the people of the United States than to the Canadian producers. Again, viewing the inequalities of our trade relations and the enormous volume of our imports from the United States, as compared with our exports, it does not seem at all beyond the limits of reason that the Canadian Government might conceive the idea of equalizing this by imposing higher rates of duty upon articles which are most largely imported from the United States; although it is but fair to say that no definite proposition to that effect has been made by any responsible Canadian Minister.

It seems, therefore, that every fair-minded American must recognize that, in view of the record already submitted, Canada is not subject to adverse criticism for resolutely taking the stand that she will no longer go to Washington begging for reciprocity. If a reciprocity treaty is good for the two countries—and no one, I think, will seriously question that—then it is but fair and reasonable that, in view of what has already taken place during the last thirty years, the advances should now be made by the United States.

That Canada is worthy of consideration by the people of the great Republic is a proposition that will soon make itself apparent. Its growth is enormous, its achieved wealth is phenomenal, its banking capital has reached proportions which would have seemed incredible twenty years ago. Indeed, during the recent financial stringency in the United States, forty to fifty millions of Canadian money was constantly in use to aid in tiding over the difficulty; and, whatever light opinion has been current regarding the value and importance of Canada and its trade in the past, most Canadians feel assured that the day of indifference is nearing its end, and that the time will come when it will be worth while, on the part of the people and the rulers of the United States, to treat fairly and justly with the Canadian people in respect of commercial affairs and all other matters of common interest to the two countries.

J. W. LONGLEY.

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THE RIGHTS AND METHODS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

BY ALBERT S. BOLLES, LECTURER ON COMMERCIAL LAW AND BANKING IN HAVERFORD COLLEGE AND IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

ANY attempt to ascertain the truth concerning the rights and methods of labor combinations will fail unless several misconceptions are put out of sight. These, therefore, will be first described.

First. Many believe that the organization of labor unions is the legitimate outcome of the vast capitalistic creations which have become the dominant feature of our modern industrial life. They assume that employees are in danger of not getting their rightful dues, and that they can more effectively assert and maintain their just demands if organized than they could single-handed. This view is a misconception of the true situation. Those employed by the large corporations are far better off in most respects than the employees of smaller corporations and of individuals. It is true that many small corporations and many individuals deal with their employees as considerately in every way as the great corporations. But the latter are the most comprehensively conducted, they possess larger capital and credit, they are less likely to meet with reverses, and they insure to their workmen the highest wages and the most steady employment.

The objector fears that the great corporations will use their power to oppress labor. The answer is an appeal to the facts, which clearly show that the fear is groundless. These show that the employees have fared and are faring best who are employed by the largest corporations. These are just as dependent on labor as the smaller corporations, or as individuals. Their size does not render them a whit more independent of labor than the

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farmer who employs a single assistant. But the objector says: "They need not run; and by stopping they can starve their employees into submission." But behind the management of any corporation are the stockholders, who are just as eager for dividends as the employees are for work. Indeed, because of the necessity of earning dividends, may it not be truly said that, the larger the concern, the more imperative is the need of preserving the good-will of its employees and thus securing the most efficient service, and also the favor of the public and thus securing the largest distribution and sale of products?

Second. If it be true that many of the largest industrial organizations are acquiring excessive profits, it does not follow that their employees are entitled to a larger share of these profits. Suppose that A has stolen a quantity of money from B, is C justified in relieving A of his plunder and keeping it himself? A's wrongful title is no justification for C's conduct. If the gains of employers in many cases are excessive, the consumers, owners of raw materials and other parties, are doubtless not receiving fair treatment. I do not assert that employees are not in some cases entitled to higher rewards; this may or may not be true. Very likely, they ought to receive something more, and the same may be said of the sellers of raw materials, and of transporters, while consumers ought to receive better terms. But the employees of the United States Steel Corporation, for example, seeing the golden mountain of profits that arises before the managers, say: "Behold these great profits; they belong to us; let us not hesitate to make our demand." They do not stop to inquire about the origin of that dazzling pile, or whether others may not have better claim to a portion at least than themselves.

Third. The wrongs inflicted on consumers and other persons with whom employers deal are not corrected by their employees when they take and permanently keep the portions belonging to others. If employees sought, under the guise of higher wages, to draw from their employers a part of the undue profits extracted from consumers for the purpose of restoring them to the persons from whom they were taken, then indeed something might be said in defence and praise of their conduct.

It is a trite remark that, if one suffers through the evil action of another, the sufferer generally rejoices over the misfortune that visits his enemy. In like manner, many of the great corpora-

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tions that are now amassing large profits have drawn on themselves the jealousy and ill-will of thousands who feel that they are unjustly treated; and who, if they cannot get their own just share, rejoice over any punishment which others may inflict.

Fourth. The industrial conditions in the United States are so very different from those in Europe, that many of the reasons which justify the formation of labor organizations there do not exist here. The smaller quantity of labor in this country compared with the opportunities for its employment; the closer relations between employers and employees; the marked differences in the political relations between the people in this and other countries; these indicate that there is a very different basis or justification for union among the laboring men abroad from any to be found here.

With these misconceptions removed, the way is clear for pursuing our inquiry. For a long period in American history, incorporated or associated life was regarded by the public with great suspicion. Slowly the prejudice wore away, until now the association of men and capital is the most common of all experiences.

It must be remembered, however, that all associations of men for a business purpose are regulated by law. While this gives men large freedom to unite, they must act as the law prescribes. The simplest and oldest of all associations is the ordinary partnership, but the members are under distinct obligations; the partnership is bound by any contract made by a member within the scope of the partnership business; and the private fortunes of the partners may be taken to pay partnership creditors. In like manner, if a partner insults a customer while executing a partnership transaction, and concludes without just cause by pounding his nose, the partnership is liable for the wrong. The other members cannot shield themselves by saying that this was simply the individual act of their angry, red-headed member; the act is vicarious and all must suffer.

So, too, when a corporation is formed, every shareholder is limited in his rights and duties. If the manager insults a person who is doing business with him, the injured person can compel the corporation to make adequate redress. The manager cannot absolve the corporation by saying: "This is my own affair; get anything out of me if you can." While, therefore, corporations are rapidly born and soon come to have a mighty life, they

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are not creatures with purely arbitrary wills to take property, steal, assault, or overturn the peace and laws of society. They are under a system of law; and, though they often do wrong, they can be and are constantly punished. Look in any volume of law reports and the truth will appear that they cannot do as they please, but are creatures of law, amenable for its infraction; and that the humblest individual can sue them for an assault or for violating a contract, and obtain redress.

The working classes unquestionably have a right to associate for all lawful purposes, just as others have for the purpose of employing them and selling the products of the joint undertaking. Precisely the same rights and limitations apply to the one class as apply to the other.

But the organization should possess a legal existence—power to sue if wronged; power to be sued if wronging others, just like other corporations. At present, most of the labor organizations have a strange existence; fearfully powerful to inflict harm,—their members burning houses, beating, and even killing men, because they insist on maintaining their independence—yet when redress is sought, their organization cannot be touched. All that can be done is to catch, if possible, the representative wrongdoer and punish him as though the deed were purely his own.

In England, a few years since, a labor union picketed a district and would not permit men who wished to work to enter within the lines, and assaulted any who made the attempt. The employers, the Taff Vale Company, sued the union to which the pickets belonged, and sought to hold the organization liable for the action of its members, and they succeeded. No other decision ever wrought such consternation among labor unions in Great Britain. Until then their members had imagined that they could do quite as they pleased, and that, if any one of their number beat or killed a non-unionist, he alone was responsible, although he well knew before acting that his premeditated deed would have the open or implied sanction of his union.*

* "Another suit was then brought for damages. Yesterday, a jury in the High Court held the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and its officials, including Richard Bell, M.P., responsible for damages to the Taff Vale Railway Company, which are estimated at $135,000, and were caused by a conspiracy to produce a strike of the employees. The strike arose because the company refused to accept the intervention of the society, and insisted upon transferring a distance-box signal-man, who was a prominent agitator. The jury find that the society maintained a sys-

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This, then, is the fundamental condition to which every labor organization, like every other, should submit,—legal responsibility for the acts of its members. Unless they are willing to become incorporated and answer for their conduct, like other corporations, they have no right to exist; and every attempt to exist under other conditions should be regarded as a conspiracy, an attempt to wage war on those whom they regard as their enemies.

Admitting their right to combine for lawful purposes, just as others can, it will not be denied that many of the methods adopted and pursued by labor unions to gain their ends are illegal, while others are of a very questionable character. Of course, all will admit that the terrible outrages committed in the anthracite-coal regions are without defence. But every act of coercion whereby a man who desires to labor is prevented, is unlawful. In every corporation there are always a few bold aggressive spirits who control the ways of the rest. Daily illustrations of this fact might be given. Fear, scorn, and shame are potent means for reducing the weaker to submission. No stronger means are required, because, in the presence of the determined few, the weak many yield. But are these legal or proper means to use? A man who signs a note through duress or fear is not compelled to pay it; the act is not lawful; neither is the act lawful whereby a man through fear of others is constrained to leave his loom or bench.

This force is employed for two purposes—first, to drive men into unions; and then to make their action effective in enforcing new demands from their employers. Without going into detail, it may be said that nearly all the methods employed to increase the membership of the unions have been harsh, stopping far short of the line of honest solicitation and persuasion. Fear, scorn, shame, ostracism and still harsher methods have been in vogue.

Indeed, it may be truly said that, if in forming unions the leaders had confined themselves to lawful and honest methods, very few unions would have been formed in this country. Why? For the conclusive reason that the great body of workingmen have seen no clear reason for forming unions. If they had, the use of harsh and often unfeeling methods to induce them to join would have been needless. The methods used, therefore, in bring-

tem of terrorism to compel a strike, and prevent the employment of 'blacklegs,' that is to say, non-unionists. The results of the decision cannot fail to be momentous."—*New York Evening Post*, December 20, 1902.

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ing unions into existence throw grave doubt in many cases upon their right to be.

And the same may be said concerning their methods of enforcing demands. Had they kept within the law, had they used persuasion only upon those who wished to work, there never would have been many striking workmen. It is by resorting to the harshest acts in the category of human action that the strikers have prevented the more peacefully inclined from continuing at their posts. The strikes have been few indeed in which there has been an essential unanimity of action among the workingmen; in far the larger number, the controlling factor has been the action of the resolute, desperate few who have cowed a suppliant majority and made them act against their convictions.

Furthermore, the fundamental conception of many labor unions toward their employers is erroneous. We leave out of sight the beneficial objects of the unions, the worthiness of which no one will question. But the unions are founded on the assumption that the members are not receiving their just dues, and that every concession gained is only one of many that should be granted. The organization is militant in the extreme; and a cold, unkindly, distrustful spirit toward employers is cultivated by it.

It is true that there are some mean employers, who seek to gain undue advantages over their employees, who are not worthy to employ a being of any kind. But compared with the entire number we do not believe there are many. On the other hand, most employers seek to treat their employees fairly, to abide by their contracts, and to cultivate kindly relations. This is especially true of the larger companies. They realize their dependence upon labor more keenly, and also the greatness of the interests at stake. The conception, so far as it exists, that the largest companies create the greatest peril to the working classes, is precisely the reverse of the truth.

That the labor organizations seek to cultivate an unfriendly relation between employers and employed may be proved by a striking example. In 1886, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company formed a relief association to provide assistance to its employees in cases of sickness and accident, and to pension them after attaining a certain age. The income was to be derived partly from contributions paid by the company. Who could question the worthiness of the association? But enemies at once arose. The

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labor leaders saw that its growth and prosperity meant a firmer alliance between employers and employed; and they have never ceased from their attacks, primarily to prevent the strengthening of this kindly relation. This is the great sin with which the company is charged, and though sixteen years have passed since the association was formed, its enemies are still persistent. They are not the employees of the company, but outsiders, wolves, trying to destroy a vast peaceful flock guided by a broad-minded, far-sighted, kindly shepherd.

Another illustration may be given. Two years ago, the National Cash Register Company, a prosperous corporation, managed with great intelligence and a broad generous spirit, employed persons who belonged to a labor union, and sought in the best faith to cultivate kindly relations with them. A factory was built and equipped in the best manner; and nothing was omitted to show that the managers were mindful of the comfort and wishes of their workmen. Notwithstanding all their attentions, ere long new and unreasonable demands were presented. To these the company submitted, one after another, because it was determined to go beyond the bounds of reason to please their employees, hoping that sooner or later a better spirit would take possession of them. One day a pair of hinges was put on a door, and the union discovered that they were made by a factory that employed non-union labor. The union demanded that these hinges should be taken off, and others, made by a factory that employed union labor, be put in their place. The company yielded. Finally, with eyes ever prying to find cause for a fresh demand, they discovered that a poor woman, who was washing the towels supplied to the employees by the company, did not belong to the union, and demanded that her work should be given to another. The company then sorrowfully resolved that the experiment was hopeless, that their employees were determined to be their enemies. Did their employees mistrust them, or believe that they were wolves in sheep's clothing? We have not the slightest basis for thinking that they did. They were simply determined to maintain their spirit of enmity, whatever might be the conduct of the company toward them. This enmity toward employers is the deadly Upas tree which, through the untiring industry of the labor leaders, is spreading throughout the labor-union world.

This feeling of antagonism is greatly accentuated when the

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labor organizations expand and employ paid leaders. To justify the remuneration they receive, these leaders must do something; if they do nothing, the members refuse to pay their dues and withdraw. The preservation and growth of these organizations, therefore, are dependent upon the successful prosecution of unceasing demands. As soon as a strike is over, a new demand is formulated and strength is collected for enforcing it. A labor organization, like that of the original Templars, is a call to continual battle. There is no rest, no peace, but unending warfare.

This is the nature of many of the labor organizations that now exist in the bosom of our industrial establishments. Must employers keep them there? Have employers no right to cast the unions out? Ought the National Cash Register Company, after its persistent and well-meant attempt, to continue to recognize an organization which had shown, in every possible manner, its spirit of enmity and its determination to humiliate the employer of its members?

But it may be said that life in a true sense is a warfare; that the relations between no classes are perfect; that a clash of interest exists between producer and consumer, between shipper and transporter, between buyer and seller. Why, therefore, should we close our eyes to the strained relations between many an employer and his employees? That this dissonance exists, and also that every man ought to seek to lessen it, will be readily admitted. But what methods are we to choose for lessening the ills amid which we live. We should keep within the realm of law and reason. If labor organizations sought to establish better relations with their employers by legal and reasonable methods, every one should bid them put forth all their energy. But the serious charge that may be justly made against them in too many cases is, that they are using methods which are clearly illegal and unreasonable. This they know themselves as well as others; and if they are permitted to use illegal methods unchecked, American society will pass into another age quite as dark and lawless as that which followed the overthrow of Roman law and civilization.

The workingmen in the anthracite-coal regions have been far from using civilized methods in seeking to secure new concessions from their employers. We shall not repeat the long catalogue of their crimes; the newspapers have chronicled some of these, many others have been revealed by witnesses before the present investi-

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gating commission, enough to convince every thoughtful person that the actors must have had the open or implied assent of their unions. Six months have passed away since they began, yet not a resolution has been passed by a single union condemning the assaults on non-unionists, the destruction of their homes, or the taking of their lives.

It is not true that all the members of the labor unions approve of these outrages. Their battles have been fought by a minority. In fact, most of the strikes, and especially that of the anthracite miners, have been the action of the resolute, fiery few. Many, less daring, less noisy, were opposed to them; others were silent and filled with fear. Let it be remembered that the great majority of miners, though they work underground and have begrimed faces and wear blackened clothing, are true men, kindly and law-abiding, who cherish no ill-will towards their employers. They have as generous, loyal affection for their families and others who are dear to them as any who wear costly robes and live in palaces. The labor unions existing among them are the dark work of a few, wherein the majority in most of them have no heart, but are overborne by the bold, desperate spirits who have driven them within and are using them as unwilling instruments.

The American people cannot too soon apprehend how rapidly this spirit of ill-will on the part of employees toward their employers is growing; how directly traceable it is to labor organizations, and what destruction must follow if it is not changed. Many of the labor organizations are seeking to widen the antagonism, and loudly rejoice in the whirlwind they have raised. They liken themselves to an armed nation, which maintains its independence by its display of power. This spirit is deepening and widening, and undermining the general structure on which the very existence of society depends.

Suppose the members of a family, husband, wife, brothers and sisters, should conclude that they could maintain their "rights" more effectively by a display of force and vigilance in taking advantage of every favoring circumstance, should dispense with reason, banish every kind of sentiment and withdraw all trustfulness in each other. Would family life conducted on that basis be an improvement? Would this bear-garden plan, in which each person sat with grinning teeth eagerly watching for a chance to over-match his fellow, represent progress in the march of society?

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An industrial enterprise, in which employer and employed unite for a common end, is an industrial family. Rightly conceived, they have a common purpose,—material profit and advantage. The labor unions generally declare in the most positive terms that this conception is wholly wrong, that the employer is seeking to get the greatest advantage possible from his employees and give the least possible in return, that he is a disguised enemy and must at all times be thus regarded. Not a kindly wish or sentiment, therefore, must be entertained toward him; not the slightest favor on any occasion shown him; every advantage must be taken of his misfortunes, and thus he must be made to feel the power of the labor unions. That is the fundamental doctrine of the labor-unions to-day; and if it be correct, the co-operation of capital and labor is doomed, for it is inevitable that, living on this baneful principle, they will grow more and more acrid, suspicious and callous toward each other until the relation between employer and employed is completely sundered.

A house cannot be divided against itself and stand. Such is the utterance of the world's Greatest Teacher. Yet the labor-union leaders insist that those engaged in industrial enterprises must be divided into two hostile camps, the employees in one and the employers in the other; and that the latter must be ceaselessly watched, so that no opportunity may be lost to wring from them concessions that will humble them and break their spirit. Such a division, if permitted to continue, is just as fatal to the continuance of any industrial relation as it was to the permanence of a Jewish home when the truth was first uttered to the country folk amid the wild flowers of Judea.

This conception of the relationship that must be maintained by the employed toward their employers is wholly wrong. Each is dependent on the other; each has rights and responsibilities. The dissonance between labor and capital must be lessened by civilized methods and not by barbaric force. True progress consists in drawing together; in gaining each other's respect and so acting as to preserve it; in putting aside the torch and bludgeon, and in adopting the higher methods of law and reason.

If workingmen were organized with the intention of improving their lot by the use of all the methods known to reason and law, there is not an intelligent employer of labor who would have the slightest objection to their recognition. But so long as they or-

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ganize, adopt and continue the methods described, how can any employer of labor recognize them without endangering his own organization. If our facts and reasonings be correct, to recognize them would be to hasten the day for the permanent dissolution of the relationship between labor and capital. It is, doubtless, the continual presence of this dark, unwelcome vision which led the anthracite-coal operators to oppose so sternly recognition of the miners' union. If an advance in the remuneration for mining had been the chief demand, this could have been met by granting it and adding the amount to the price paid by the helpless consumer.* But the recognition of the union meant an increase in its power to wage effective war, which would be speedily employed in enforcing a new demand. For Mr. Baer and others who are directing these great coal enterprises there was no alternative. Many regarded Mr. Baer as the soul of the opposition, a great despot, greedy and cruel. Those who are familiar with his life know how far this conception of him is from the truth. As patriotic in serving his country during the Civil War as he has since been foremost in all things pertaining to the improvement of the city wherein most of his days have been spent; an especial friend of higher education and an efficient trustee in one of Pennsylvania's colleges; in short, an eminent public citizen, animated by a broad kindly spirit—such is the man whom his enemies have in imagination wrought into a Gorgon.

What, then, is the conclusion of the matter?

(1) Labor unions should be required to organize legally, like other individuals who associate for a distinct industrial purpose, so that responsibility may attach to their conduct.

(2) So long as their members are at enmity with their employers, and consider a state of open or intermittent warfare as their true status or condition, their employers are justified in not recognizing the unions.

(3) In truth, so long as they maintain this as a fundamental principle, it is questionable whether such associations should be permitted to exist at all; and the same doubt may be raised in regard to corporations which entertain toward their employees a similar spirit of enmity and aggression.

The outlook for the future as to harmony between labor and

* This was suggested by Mr. Mitchell in his letter to Mr. Baer. See Bulletin of Department of Labor, No. 43, p. 1,187.

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capital is not alluring. Let us hope that the spirit of antagonism and of real or pretended distrustfulness of labor unions toward their employers will lessen as their members become better informed and do more thinking for themselves. But so long as this spirit of enmity exists, only evil will be the bitter fruitage. One great mistake has been the unwillingness of employers to recognize the existence of this spirit, preferring to patch up any kind of temporary peace, having faith that, when the next breakdown came off, they could find some way to overcome the difficulty. Thus a temporizing policy has been practised without much thought of the Niagara to which it was directly tending, until now all are near enough to hear its roar. The thoughtful ones have clearly seen that the cause of the coal operators was not theirs alone nor that of other employers, but the cause also of millions of consumers. The thoughtless ones who feared a present temporary chill of their toes more than a future permanent chill of their entire bodies, clamored for any kind of surrender, whatever might be the consequences, that would bring to them an immediate supply of coal. Were all employers of labor as short-sighted as those who believed in thus acting, the time could not be far distant when the labor-unions would shake the country as by an earthquake more violent than Pelée or Krakatoa.

Let us not exaggerate the situation in the least. We know that among many of the largest employers of labor, especially among many of the railroad companies, labor organizations are weak, and that the relations between employee and employer are kindly and trustful. In other organizations, the feeling of enmity on the part of the workingmen toward their employers is perpetually ebbing and flowing. We would gladly believe, if we could, that it has reached high-water mark. Perhaps this may be true. Whether it is or not, this is the great ill which every lover of man or country should seek to cure. Whoever seeks to perpetuate it, whether employer or employed, is an enemy of order and society. The militant policy must be superseded by one based on trustfulness and reason, if the partnership between labor and capital is to continue.

ALBERT S. BOLLES.

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PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY THE REV. JOHN T. DRISCOLL, S. T. L.

THE latest contribution to the discussion of the so-called controversy between Science and Religion from a critical point of view is the work, "Religion as a Credible Doctrine," by Mr. William H. Mallock. In that work, Mr. Mallock maintains that the nineteenth century will be characterized in the annals of history as the battle-ground between the forces of religion and of science. This conflict, which has been waged with varying fortunes, is, he says, our heritage from the past, and he seizes the opening of a new century as an opportune time for setting forth the condition of both parties and the points at issue between them. Or, to use a metaphor he delights in, he proposes to sum up the debit and credit sides and present an accurate record of gains and losses. He thus appears in the humble rôle of "intellectual accountant."

Mr. Mallock has honored me by associating me with Father Maher, the learned English Jesuit, with Dr. Hettinger, and Dr. William G. Ward, of revered memory, as an exponent of Catholic teaching. In referring in a very friendly way to my work on Christian Philosophy,* he has been good enough to say that the conclusions which I have aimed at establishing in that treatise are the precise conclusions which he himself desires to exhibit as worthy of reasonable acceptance. But he takes exception to the methods which I have followed in reaching these conclusions. Mr. Mallock assumes that there is an insurmountable barrier between the religious and the scientific domain, and on that basis he pursues his investigations; whereas I have regarded the field from a higher standpoint, with the result that objects which, on a close view, seem to conflict or to be isolated from each other are

* "Christian Philosophy; God."

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discerned in this more comprehensive outlook, as coalescing in harmonious unity—not a unity of nature, such as the monism of Prof. Haeckel, for instance, would imply, but a unity of order. Now, I believe that this recent contribution of Mr. Mallock is nothing more than the repetition of a shibboleth now grown old, and that his discussion is superficial. I am confident that closer examination will reveal, more and more clearly as the years go on, the simple and far-reaching truth that, in the history of the human interpretation of the world and of man, the nineteenth century will stand forth not as a battle-ground between religion and science, but as a battle-ground between spurious philosophies, where the fundamental and priceless problem at issue was the dignity and powers of the human mind.

The pendulum of thought swings from one extreme to the other. Thus, in philosophy we discern the trend of thought from Idealism to Materialism, and from Materialism back to Idealism. In literature, a romantic period is followed by a period whose dominant tone is realistic, and this in turn gives way to a subsequent idealism. The intellectual accountant whose main work is the balancing of accounts, is apt to view facts as figures and base the estimate on their face value. The philosophic mind welcomes facts gladly, but is not content with viewing them as figures. It investigates their causes, and is rewarded with the discovery that the facts apparent on the surface of the time-stream have a richer and deeper meaning, in so far as they are manifestations of currents more or less strong, more or less conflicting, agitating the minds and throbbing in the breasts of men.

I.

An exact and profound knowledge of the problems which confront us is to be obtained only by viewing our mental life against the background of the lights and shadows cast by the struggles and victories and failures of those who have gone before.

The nineteenth century dawned with the rise of a philosophical system which boasted that it was destined to work in the world of mental science a revolution analogous to that which had been achieved by Copernicus in astronomy. With that claim by way of preface to the "Critic of Pure Reason," Emmanuel Kant published a work which has influenced the human mind profoundly for upwards of a hundred years. Copernicus revolutionized as-

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tronomical science by proving that the sun, not the earth, is the centre of the solar system. Kant maintained that truth, the light of our mental world, did not consist in conformity of thought to things, but resided in the mind alone. Reality must coincide with thought, not thought with reality. The mind thus becomes supreme, with no test, no guide, no restraining force outside of itself.

This doctrine of Subjective Idealism, expressed in careful language, with a parade of deep and abstruse reasoning, was adopted with enthusiasm by the learned world. Disciples sprang up on every side. Fichte developed the Idealism of his master into a Transcendental Egoism. This teaching profoundly influenced Carlyle and Emerson, and even to-day its traces are found in the associations of Ethical Culture. Hard on Fichte, came Schelling with the doctrine of the Absolute, and then Hegel, the last and greatest of Kant's followers, who was destined, by the grim irony of events, to deal the idealistic movement a blow from which it has never recovered. Space does not permit a minute examination of Hegel's teaching. Sixty years ago his name was supreme in the schools of Germany. But he developed Idealism too far; with the inevitable result that reaction followed. Hegel's own disciples split into warring bands in the effort to explain their master's teaching.

Thus, looking back over the lapse of fifty years, we are brought face to face with vivid scenes of a rapidly shifting panorama. First, we behold a great multitude in loud acclaim of the Hegelian system of philosophy as the greatest achievement of the human mind; then, a few groups with diverse shreds of a dismembered system, each crying out the absurdities of the other, each proclaiming that it alone possessed the real doctrine, and in that very proclamation falling into absurdities more glaring still; then, the world looking on in amazement and doubt with the questions, What is Truth? and Is it in the care of such as these, or is it not somewhere else after all? Finally, we see these same onlookers turning away from the strife of a broken and extravagant Idealism, and seeking truth in the material things which could be grasped by sense observation and experiment. The physical sciences dealing with the various aspects of material nature were then making giant strides, and men gloried in the possession of a sure and undisputed source of knowledge.

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The science of the physical universe, acquired by patient investigation into its phenomena and laws, is a triumph of the human mind. It is a characteristic and glory of the nineteenth century. The method pursued in this department of mental activity is known as the method of Induction. But the inductive method was not the discovery of our later times. Aristotle described the process, and a most interesting section of the "Summa" of St. Thomas Aquinas is that part wherein he investigates, by means of this method, the virtues and vices even of our ethical life. Furthermore, a careful examination of the processes employed in physical science will show that the inductive method is only a part of the scientific method. Induction leads from facts or phenomena to the formulation of laws or hypotheses. But the laws must be applied to facts constantly recurring to observation; the hypotheses must be verified before they have any weight. Now the application of laws to facts and the verification of hypotheses are not features of Induction in its more restricted sense. They accompany it and are supplementary to it; yet they are more properly termed processes of Deduction. Hence except when reinforced by deductive features the inductive method has proved inadequate for the acquisition of scientific truth. In our ordinary life, the two methods are in like manner employed. Do we not apply the rules or principles, or truths, whatever the name may be, acquired by past experience with men and things to the elucidation of events which succeed one another in the swiftly moving moments of the day? The nature of the human mind has not changed in these few hundred years which, according to Mr. Mallock, mark the passage from the theological to the scientific period of thought. The scientific spirit of our later days has only shown the necessity of careful observation and experimentation, and that in the field of physical nature hitherto imperfectly explored by the mind.

The recourse to investigation of the physical world, with the insistence on the processes of careful observation and experimentation, was a distinct gain to the cause of human knowledge. But, in the flood-tide of a reaction against a spurious Idealism, and in the enthusiasm born of abounding success in the discovery of material truth, scientists exceeded just limits. The great problems of existence, of origin and destiny, which are ever present to the mind, still remained to be dealt with and challenged solu-

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tion. With these problems confronting them, some of the leading scientists, not content with the condemnation of a false philosophy nor with their own proper work of ascertaining and classifying the facts of material nature, set up a philosophy of their own based entirely on the limited knowledge of physical things. Mental and ethical life were regarded as phases of the material world, and the laws of physics were held to reign in rigid sway throughout. The result was the creation of a new system of philosophy, exaggerated and partial like the Hegelian Idealism, but at the opposite extreme.

Thus we see the rise of a philosophical school which held sway during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Its teaching has been termed Naturalism, because it denies the Supernatural and admits no revelation other than that obtained through the manifestation of the laws which exist in the material universe. By others, it is termed Positivism, because it teaches that we can know only things capable of positive and material proof. Again, it is called Agnosticism, because it professes to know nothing of the soul, of God, or of truth other than that obtained by sense-observation and experiment. A better term would be Science-Philosophy, because its inherent contradiction is revealed in this name. Certain it is, the new doctrine cannot be called Science, for positive science, to cite the words of M. Berthelot, "investigates neither first sources nor the ends of things, but it establishes facts and connects them by their immediate relations. . . The mind ascertains these facts by observation and experiment." The exponents and defenders of the Science-Philosophy were brilliant and versatile, but by no means profound. Its sway has passed with their death. The growing strength of a new philosophical movement is rapidly relegating it to a place in past history. Hence we can understand in its full force the lament of Mr. Mallock: "The pens of our Huxleys and Tyndalls and Darwins lie where they fell; and there is none left in strength among us to sum up the issue of that struggle, with knowledge and sympathy."

This Protean system, as has been said, is not Science, although it insistently claimed the title. It was a philosophy, different from, yet for the time more dangerous than, other philosophies which have sprung up in the course of history. Its home was not in the secluded quiet of university life; its advocates were not retiring students. On the street, in the newspapers, during the short

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intervals of daily labor, in the home, its doctrines were discussed and vigorously defended. At the same time, earnest thinkers, men like Agassiz, Pasteur, Secchi, Claude Bernard, arose to attack the pretensions of the new philosophy. To them, as the preservers of science, is due the gratitude of mankind. They took the weapons so lauded by their opponents, and, by the use of a rigorous induction from well-ascertained facts, they pierced the bubble of this inflated system. Among them are to be found men of strong religious convictions, of great scientific achievement, who resented the unwarranted attack upon the priceless heritage of faith, falsely made in the name of science. They clearly perceived the fallacy of a philosophy masquerading in the guise of physical science, and they labored earnestly to tear aside the mask, to separate the false from the true, and let science stand forth in its true light before the gaze of men.

I do not deny that there were opponents of Science-Philosophy who had little to offer by way of a consistently reasoned philosophical system in place of what they rightly attempted to destroy. A glance over the variously modified systems of philosophic thought in Germany during the past fifty years, shows how weak and insufficient at times was the remedy suggested. The Hegelian Idealism which occasioned the rise of the Science-Philosophy, also contained in its own beginnings the fruitful seeds of doubt. Hamilton tried to combine Kant and Reid, with the result that, on the one hand, he produced Huxley who coined the word "Agnosticism," and, on the other, Mansel who proposed the system of his master as an irrefutable philosophic defence of Christian faith. Thus, Huxley, a leader of the Science-Philosophy, was the direct result of a false philosophical system; and the conflict between reason and faith, so apparent in recent English literature, is the offspring of false philosophical principles. The same spirit of scepticism prevailed in the Kantian offshoots throughout Germany and France. As a result, reason and faith, far from being recognized as existing in just and harmonious accord, are placed by this false system in the position of interminable strife. Hence, Christian faith is retained, if retained at all, only in apparent contradiction to reason; and reason, if consistently adhered to, leads to the abandonment of faith. In illustration, I cite Mr. Mallock's closing chapters. He openly proclaims not only that the conclusions in one department of

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human knowledge contradict the conclusions in another, but that "each in its last analysis contradicts itself." Thus, we may admit the truth of two contradictory doctrines, "without doing any more violence to our intellect than we are compelled to do implicitly whenever we believe anything." If there is meaning in these words, it is that they are a restatement of Kant's antinomies. And in presenting, by way of conclusion, his own convictions as to the proof for God's existence, Mr. Mallock openly adopts Kant's well-known distinction of theoretical and practical reason, confesses that the former leads to contradictions, and that the latter alone, in the categorical imperative, with its implied sense of responsibility, gives the sure basis for our belief in God.

Is Mr. Mallock aware that the distinction between theoretical and practical reason is without foundation; that the categorical "ought" of Kant is nothing more than the arbitrary dictum of the individual will; that these principles which he calmly proposes as the final and best answer of the mind on the validity of God's existence, are the fruitful sources of Agnosticism in Philosophy, of Individualism in Ethics, of Anarchism in Sociology?

I have tried to point out that, in discussing the alleged conflict between Science and Religion, an examination of the terms is of primary importance. The truth has been brought out that Physical Science was not a party to any conflict, that the real issue was between the false pretensions of a Science-Philosophy and the variously modified forms of Idealism, which, however specious, proved upon closer analysis to be narrow, inconsistent and false. This explains the chaos of thought which resulted in a widespread spirit of doubt. Thus, we are brought to a consideration of the statement made in the opening of the present article, that the vital problem at stake in the nineteenth century was the dignity and nature of the human mind.

The possession of a spiritual soul endowed with intelligence and free-will gives to man a peculiar position in the visible universe. In one way or another, the Science-Philosophy bitterly assailed this truth and contended that man was only an animal, thus making Psychology a part of Physiology or Biology. Others more radical and consistent, attempted to explain human nature by the principles of Physics and reduced human life to the

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laws of motion. A luminous illustration is Mr. Mallock's appeal to the Phenomenal Idealism of Sensism in the effort to destroy the distinction between mind and matter, and to force the reader to accept as the creed of modern science either the Unknowable of Mr. Spencer, with its confusion of the notions of substance and essence, or the one substance of Spinoza, with its modern development into the Double-Aspect theory. The attempt was a failure. A careful analysis of our mental operations shows that thought and free-will are utterly unlike the activities manifested in the brute or inanimate world. In common with the brute, we possess sense-life; but, over and above, we rejoice in the activities of a mind which can form abstract and universal notions, can analyze, synthesize and carry on a sustained process of carefully reasoned thought. The power of free-will, with its sense of responsibility, is not the capacity to act without a cause or motive, but the power of choice between acting or not acting, or between various courses of action proposed by the mind. The powers of self-consciousness and of self-determination are the crown and glory of our spiritual nature. The one is not to be separated from the other. In vain we seek an explanation of them in Physiology, Biology or Physics. The process of reasoning by which this truth is ascertained consists in the application of the laws of Induction and the Method of Residues to the phenomena of conscious experience. The admission of a spiritual or super-organic principle to explain the spiritual or super-organic operations of the mind and will, is forced by pure stress of evidence upon the mind of the unbiased seeker for truth. The proof of a spiritual soul in a man is a vindication of human dignity and a triumph for human knowledge. The narrow limits of a Science-Philosophy are broken down, and the scope of philosophical observation is broadened and enriched. In addition to the department of Physical Science, we behold the spheres of mental and of moral life. They are not blended one into the other, but each stands forth clear and distinct, each with its own wealth of truth to be acquired by processes carried on in accordance with its own subject-matter and laws.

In broadening the sphere of human knowledge by the elevation of Psychology and of Ethics to the dignity of special sciences, distinct from the sciences which investigate the material world, the need is felt of a rigid inquiry into the nature of the mind,

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of a complete and exact description of the laws and processes which govern it in its pursuit of truth. The great result of the labor of Socrates was the rout of the Sophists by his insisting on the value of definite concepts. He thus removed the shadows of doubt, and brought about the free activity of thought. Hence arose the splendid monuments of human reason left in the works of Plato and Aristotle. Some hundreds of years later, St. Thomas Aquinas gathered together the scattered fragments of truth and welded them into the system of Scholastic Philosophy, the greatest production of carefully reasoned thought the world has ever seen. A like labor is incumbent on the present. The work most needed to-day is a Theory of Knowledge, written with a clear conviction of the dignity and powers of the mind, and in sympathetic knowledge of the struggles and doubts of those who have immediately gone before. The materials are at hand, but the work itself will show in a clearer and more detailed manner what I have tried briefly to point out, viz., that the nineteenth century is characterized not by a conflict between Religion and Science, but by a bitter conflict of rival philosophies, and that the fundamental issue is the dignity and validity of human reason.

II.

Turning now rrom the general proof of my thesis set .orth in the preceding pages, I shall deal with a special illustration furnished by Mr. Mallock. He repeatedly cites Professor Haeckel as the leading representative of Science. Now, I maintain that, whatever claim Professor Haeckel may have to the title of scientist, he certainly is also a philosopher. He comes before us as an exponent of the Science-Philosophy. When Professor Haeckel discusses the problems of God's existence, of human freedom and immortality, he is no longer a scientist. He has passed beyond the field of observation and experimentation on physical facts, and entered the domain of metaphysics, which is the proper sphere of philosophy. The problems of origin and destiny are beyond the range of physical science. Even a biologist, like Professor Haeckel, should not presume, as a scientist, to discuss and solve the origin of primitive life. The philosopher may make the attempt, and in so doing he will subject his reasoning and conclusions to rigid criticism. Thus, in making this attempt, Professor Haeckel is a philosopher, and the aspects of his teachings

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cited and approved by Mr. Mallock are the conclusions of a philosopher, and as such we shall briefly review them.

First of all, Professor Haeckel is guilty of the false use of the term science, which he employs as if it were restricted to physical science. This is an undue narrowing of human knowledge and is in direct contradiction to our conscious experience. There are mental science and moral science as well as physical science. Each presents the results of investigations pursued in its own special field, according to its own methods. The processes of thought properly carried out in the examination of any department of human knowledge are justly termed scientific.

Again, Professor Haeckel is obliged to face a serious difficulty in explaining the origin of life. He proposes the theory of spontaneous generation. If that theory be false, he admits that his whole system falls to the ground. Fifty years ago, this statement could be put forth without much fear of the consequences. Appeal could have been made to the facts of obvious experience, as illustrated in the generation of flies and bugs from putrid matter. Since then, however, Pasteur and Tyndall have proved conclusively, by a long and careful series of experiments, that life can only come from life, and that the dictum, *omne vivum e cellula*, formulates a scientific truth. The opponents of the Science-Philosophy justly called attention to this fact and demanded an answer. Did Professor Haeckel abandon his system, or attempt to modify it in accordance with the truths of science which he so loudly acclaims? On the contrary, he grows indignant and appeals to the unknown. In present conditions, he admits, the law of Biogenesis holds sway, but what of the primitive stage when life first made its appearance on the globe? The conditions then *might be* such, he suggests, that life did not come from life but from inorganic matter. In reply, it can be said that *what we do know* is, that the law of Biogenesis is a fundamental law of Biology, that Astronomy teaches the formation of the earth from a primitive nebula, and Geology proves that in the eozoic age of our planet there were no signs of life upon it. We accept this teaching and propound it, not with a view to establish the religious nature of man, as Mr. Mallock suggests, but to show the existence of God as the author of life. If our reasoning does not hold—that is, if the law of Biogenesis did not apply to primitive life, and if primitive life came from non-living matter—then

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a law of Biology has actually changed. What becomes of science on the supposition that the laws of material nature were in primitive times other than they are now, it is not for me to explain. Our position is strong, and cannot be affected by the unsupported assertions of the Science-Philosophers. And, if we consider the problem without regard to those who are interested in its discussion, we can maintain that the truths of science—as distinguished from the mere guesses and speculations of the Science-Philosophers—are not antagonistic to the conclusions of philosophy, that we are not forced to accept conclusions which hopelessly contradict each other. The ascertained facts and laws of physical science we gladly admit. The philosophical inferences therefrom are regarded as certainties, or as endowed with greater or less probability, in proportion to the weight of evidence supporting them and the rigid accuracy of the reasoning process by which they have been reached. The law of Biogenesis is in possession, and our inference is based on that admitted truth. The law of Abiogenesis has not a shred of evidence to favor its acceptance.

Another contention very dear to Professor Haeckel, and to the exposition of which Mr. Mallock devotes many pages, is the theory of evolution. This may be regarded as the framework in the edifice of Science-Philosophy, just as the law of Abiogenesis is its corner-stone. Now, what is there in the theory of Evolution? Some fifty years ago an ardent and patient young scientist discovered data which forced him to change his opinion on the development of some forms of life. But had mankind up to that time been ignorant that there is a law of growth, and that growth is a law of life? Jesus repeatedly draws illustrations from this biological law, and before the publication of "The Origin of Species" appeared the "Development of Christian Doctrine" by John Henry Newman. Men knew, in a general way, that living things grow, and that there were limits to the growth of the individual. They possessed, however, no minute knowledge of the various methods of generation, or of the laws governing the processes of growth. By close observation of the forms of life, Darwin discovered certain modifications and influences—*e. g.*, environment—whose scientific value had not been generally recognized. Immediately the world rang with plaudits over a great discovery. A new name was coined, and Evolution was proposed as a theory with a universal application. I do not wish to dis-

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parage a scientific discovery. I admit that Darwin's labors opened a new field of investigation which has been of great interest and value to Biology. Life and the laws of life are full of mysteries, and the growth of an embryo, like the growth of a child's mind, gives rise to beautiful and profound reflections. The secret of Darwin's fame was that he turned our gaze to the laws of growth and showed that our eyes were holden to things about us. Science scored a triumph and every candid mind gloried in the achievement. But when Evolution, with its beautiful kernel of truth, was seized by the Science-Philosophers and proposed by them as an explanation of the universe and of man, it ceased to be a problem of science and became forthwith a problem of philosophy. God was ruled out of the world and a hypothesis assumed sway. The abstract idea of growth was extended into a theory, and men forgot that living things differ in nature one from another, and that the character of the development was determined by the nature of the being.

As an illustration in point, let us take the alleged evolution of man from the brute. Science-Philosophy professedly teaches this form of development. Investigation of brute life shows that the animal possesses sense organs and sense knowledge. Psychology teaches that man has sense-life and sense-knowledge and is, therefore, an animal; but, over and above this knowledge, he is endowed with intelligence and free-will. The operations of mind are of a different order from the operations of sense. The mind abstracts, judges and reasons from the data of sense. Modern English Psychology in the term "thought" includes the operations of intellect and of sense. This confusion has had disastrous consequences in the philosophy of mental life. The use of the one term "thought" to designate two classes of operations different in kind served to obliterate the radical difference between them and make the passage from one to the other, or the designation of one for the other, simple and natural to the untrained mind. Nevertheless, the difference is there and can never be blotted out by a fallacious logomachy. The distinction of sense and intellect is a fundamental psychological fact, and it only can account for the diverse operations of the mind. The theory of evolution is impotent to bridge this chasm. A likeness in the nature of things must be shown. This, evolution has not yet shown and never will be able to show.

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III.

A final proof of the main contention of this article shall be taken from the acts of one who stands before the world as its greatest living statesman and prophet. Throughout a pontificate longer than ordinarily falls to the successor of St. Peter, Leo XIII. has proved himself by repeated acts to be an illustrious benefactor of mankind. Singularly endowed with great powers of mind, trained by a long and varied experience in the conduct of men and in the management of affairs, he brings to his high office a mature wisdom which has reflected signal glory on his reign. Almost his first act after election to the Pontificate was the publication, in 1878, of the encyclical "*Aeterni Patris.*" With the eye of a seer, he looks out into the world and detects the cause of the confusion and doubt which so profoundly disturbed the mind of his generation. He saw that men were in darkness because false philosophical systems had cast baneful shadows over the mind. He repeatedly insists that there is not and cannot be any conflict between Science and Religion. He realizes that a false philosophy, whether clothed in the garb of science, or built upon an erroneous interpretation of mental life, is the element which brings discord into the harmonious blending of knowledge. Not content with indicating the evil, he proposes the remedy. Looking into the treasury of truth, he selects the Scholastic Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas as the beacon which will cast a clear light on the troubled mind of the nineteenth century.

Thus was ushered in the Neo-Scholastic period. We find its beginnings farther back in the Latin works of Liberatore, in Trendelenberg, in Barthélemy St. Hilaire. But with the encyclical of the Holy Father an enthusiasm for the study was aroused. The "Summa" of St. Thomas became the text-book in Catholic schools, the principles which form its framework were spread abroad through publications in every language. The broad view, the clear thought, the sound doctrine, the exact expression so characteristic of the Angelic Doctor, exerted a deep and wide influence. The spirit of calm and solidity which gave to Scholastic Philosophy its strong hold on the mind of the Middle Ages breathed through the teachings of the Neo-Scholastic school. Writers came forth to face the motley array of current philosophies, with a clear knowledge of the weakness in their adversaries and confident in the possession of a strong, carefully reasoned

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system of truth concerning the universe and man. A true philosophy brought into harmony the scattered and partially obscured rays of truth. It dispelled the clouds of doubt which hung so long over the minds of men. It showed the true sphere and work of physical science, urged it to pursue its fruitful labors, and was the first to acclaim the discovery of physical laws or facts.

I do not deny that Neo-Hegelianism in England contributed, in no small degree, to usher in the new movement. But its value was rather negative, in so far as it helped to overthrow the Science-Philosophy by an insistence on the conscious facts of mental and of ethical life. No modification, however, of a system radically erroneous, as was Hegel's Idealism, can hope for any length of time to retain a hold on the mind. Thus, it cannot present a broad, sound and consistent theory of knowledge or of ethics. In this, its positive side, it betrays an inferiority to Neo-Scholasticism. There we have a clear and true presentation of mental life, an exact and profound system of morals, and a just estimate of investigation into the material universe, all uniting to form a magnificent structure with no gap or jar to mar its integrity.

I have endeavored to make my purpose clear. The line of thought and the principles set forth in this article are followed out in detail and applied to the special problem of God's existence in my work on Christian Philosophy, which Mr. Mallock has criticised. What I maintain is, that a sound philosophy should recognize the truth of physical, of mental and of moral science; that it should be broad and profound, clear and exact, so as to keep intact the limits of each, to prevent one from conflicting with the other, and thus build up in all fulness and proportion the magnificent structure of human knowledge.

JOHN T. DRISCOLL.

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POLICE METHODS IN LONDON.

BY JOSIAH FLYNT.

SIXTY-ODD years ago there was born to a clergyman in England a son, who in course of time elected to try his fortune in India. Some years after the birth of the son, there was born to a tigress in the wilds of India a youngster which waxed strong and big. Events so shaped themselves that when the clergyman's son had grown to man's estate, and the tiger had been taught to manage for himself, the two had a meeting. The Englishman went forth on a hunting trip; on the same day the tiger decided to prowl and see what he could devour. The tiger discovered the Englishman, and springing upon him, felled him to the ground. In falling, the Englishman came down on his right side. Remembering a story, heard years before, that so long as a man will keep quiet and does not move, there are chances that an attacking tiger will refrain from further attack, he lay perfectly still. The tiger however, began to gnaw at the man's left arm. The pain was intense, and there was nothing to prove that his legs would not be nibbled off next, but the Englishman continued to lie still—and hope. Pretty soon he heard the voices of a rescuing party. The tiger heard them also. The rescuing party arrived, and the tiger was slain. The Englishman got back to civilization *minus* his left arm. To-day he is known as Sir Edward Bradford, Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police. He sits in his office at Scotland Yard, and with his brains and his right arm makes plain to the 16,000 officers and constables how he wants London protected.

A few months ago, while visiting certain European capitals for the purpose of gathering information about foreign police organizations, it was my good fortune to make the acquaintance of the man whom the tiger had intended to make away with. I

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found him seated at his desk busy in the perusal of reports. He does not look like a Chief of Police. He is a small man, hardly five feet four, I should say, and gives one the impression of having devoted himself to the art of politeness rather than to the profession of governing a police department. There is not the slightest trace of bluster or "almightiness" in his attitude toward callers. Except that he was at Scotland Yard and seated at the Commissioner's desk, he might easily have passed for a country gentleman painstakingly looking over his business papers. Yet he was for years connected with the Secret Department in the India Office, and probably knows as much about the police business as any man identified with it.

He asked me whether, previous to calling on him, I had looked over the "Criminal Statistics Report" from the Home Office; he indicated that I could probably find there the bulk of the information desired. I told him that I was anxious to see what kind of men the detective department employed, and asked him whether it would be permissible for me to accompany some of the plain-clothes men while on duty.

"In the main the men in the Criminal Investigation Department come from the same class of society as that which supplies us with constables," the Commissioner replied. "Furthermore, I have done away with the practice of letting the police serve as guides to slumming parties. I found when I took hold here, that the police were practically keeping certain places open in order to have something ready and handy to show to strangers. There is nothing to hinder you from having a look by yourself, however. I go about the town and see things for myself, and you can do the same."

"Are ex-thieves ever employed on the force?" I asked. Sir Edward gave me an astonished look, and then exclaimed: "Never." I hinted that the custom was not unknown in the United States. "Of course, our men have various ways of collecting facts," Sir Edward proceeded, "and it is not impossible" —here he smiled—"that they make use of certain persons whom it is not necessary to name; but as for giving ex-thieves positions in the organization, such a thing never happens."

I was then turned over to Assistant-Commissioner E. R. Henry, the head of the Criminal Investigation Department, and my study of London police methods was continued for about eight weeks.

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I.

Speaking roughly, there are from six to eight million men, women, and children who live within the jurisdiction of the two police organizations which look out for personal safety and private and public property in the British Metropolis. The majority of these people are probably natives of Great Britain, but scattered among them are thousands of foreigners who have come from the uttermost parts of the earth. The mass of the inhabitants are law-observing citizens who not only make every effort not to break the law themselves, but who also take a friendly interest in helping the police to carry out their orders. Londoners are gifted with a wonderful good-humor, as well as with an enviable willingness to assist in making the machinery of government run with as little friction as possible. In spite of this good-humor and friendly intention on the part of the population, however, it requires 15,977 policemen in one organization, and 1,056 in the other, to keep the public peace. The larger force is called The Police of the Metropolis, or, more generally, The Metropolitan Police. The smaller organization is called The City Police; the latter are on duty exclusively in the district known as "The City." The Metropolitan Police are responsible to the Home Office—which corresponds to our Department of the Interior. Their jurisdiction extends over a radius of fifteen miles from Charing Cross (exclusive of the City of London), and embraces an area of 688 square miles. The jurisdiction of the City Police comprises an area of 671 acres. Although this district is small, the amount of property to be protected is enormous, and there are well on toward 40,000 night residents whose safety has to be considered. In the daytime, there are hundreds of thousands of persons who either find their employment in the City or come and go through its streets, and these people also fall within the purview of the local police force. The organization is maintained by the Corporation of the City of London. It is commanded by a Commissioner and an Assistant Commissioner, subject to the general direction of a Police Committee elected by the Common Council.

Previous to the early part of the last century the police arrangements of London were worse, probably, than any to be found at present in the United States. Throughout England, in fact, both the country and town police organizations, if they could be called

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such, were in such a loose state, that the Government imposed the severest sentences for comparatively trivial offences, in the hope of thus being able to scare offenders. There had been Ecclesiastical, Forest, Commercial, and nearly every other imaginable kind of police in England at one time and another; but the beginning of the nineteenth century found London practically at the mercy of bands of thieves and marauders, which the existing guardians of the peace were utterly unequal to cope with. Captain Melville, in his recently published "History of Police in England," has this to say regarding the conditions which prevailed in London at that time:

"The state of the metropolis was such that social reformers might well have despaired of ever seeing an improvement; every corrupting influence and every criminal tendency seemed to flourish unchecked and unrebuked in the congenial atmosphere of the London slums. Thieves and receivers, drivers of hackney coaches, and sometimes toll-gate keepers, conspired together to rob the travelling public. Still more serious were the conspiracies in which solicitors and police officers were concerned, which had for their object the levying of blackmail from bankers and others. In this organized system of fraud the following method was usually adopted: A man of education, with money behind him, would plan a bank robbery, purchase the necessary information, and hire expert thieves to do the actual work. The robbery having been duly effected, some time would be allowed to elapse; and then the prime mover in the affair, through his agent the police officer, would notify the manager of the bank that the stolen notes or securities had been traced, and might be recovered, if a large reward was forthcoming. The offer was invariably coupled with the proviso that, in the event of the proposed restitution being carried out, no further questions should be asked, nor further proceedings taken. Between 1805 and 1818 there were more than two hundred executions for forgery alone—that is to say, at the rate of one execution in every three weeks. When one considers that only a few of the forgers were caught, that of these not all were convicted, and that of the convicted but a moderate percentage were hanged, we get some idea of the prevalence of this particular offence. On the whole, there is no exaggeration in saying that, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, England was passing through an epoch of criminality darker than any other in her annals. In 1815 alone, eighty thousand pounds was given in blood-money, an expenditure that might almost be considered as a Government subsidy for the encouragement of felony. Forty pounds was the reward offered for the conviction of certain offenders, and it was obviously to the advantage of the thief-taker not to interfere with a promising young criminal until he should commit a forty pounds crime; premature conviction was tantamount to killing the goose that should lay the golden egg, and the common cant phrase of the

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day, when referring to a juvenile offender, was, 'he doesn't weigh forty pounds yet.'"

Among other writers and reformers who labored toward a regeneration of the police was Henry Fielding. He and his brother, together with another writer by the name of Colquhoun, published pamphlets and books describing the terrible state of crime in the Metropolis, and suggesting reforms and remedies by which the conditions could be changed. As happens in all reforms, these men wrote and preached and agitated ahead of their time; but the seed sown by them bore fruit in 1829, when Sir Robert Peel succeeded in getting through Parliament a bill by which the different parish and ward police forces were organized into one force.

Captain Melville says:

"By June, 1830, the Metropolitan Police consisted of 17 superintendents, 68 inspectors, 323 sergeants, and 2,906 constables, or 3,314 of all ranks. The Metropolitan Police District was divided into seventeen Police Divisions. These divisions were then divided into Sub-Divisions, Sections and Beats. There were eight Sections in a Division, and eight Beats in a Section. . . . At first, the twenty-four hours were divided into two day reliefs and two night reliefs, half of the entire force being on duty by day and half by night. This arrangement was not a success, and was subsequently altered, when the day duty was performed in two reliefs and the night duty in one relief. . . . The immediate result of the institution of an effective police force, whose main object was prevention, was precisely that which was to be expected: convictions for crimes of violence decreased, because evil-disposed persons knew that they could no longer commit them with impunity, and convictions for minor offences increased, because the vigilance of the new policemen brought to their proper punishment many a petty depredator who had easily hoodwinked his familiar friend, the old parish officer."

The Commissioner of the new force was selected and appointed by the Imperial Government, as is the case to-day.

The City Police also received an overhauling at about the same time that the Metropolitan force was organized. It had degenerated to nearly as low depths as had the old parish organizations, and the City would doubtless have been deprived of its ancient right to have a police force of its own, had it not followed the Government's example and reorganized its police department. To-day this department compares very favorably with the larger force, and there is no indication that the City is to lose the privilege of policing its own immediate district.

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As the Metropolitan Police are the dominating organization, they will be exclusively considered in what follows.

II.

The present Metropolitan Police are divided into twenty-two "divisions," the division corresponding more or less to what are called precincts in New York. On the coat-collar of every uniformed member of the force are an embroidered letter of the alphabet and a number. The letter indicates the division to which the man is assigned, and the number is his name, so to speak. In the Police Courts, the constable, when called upon by the magistrate to give his testimony concerning an arrest, calls his letter and number before telling what he knows about the case in hand. All told, there are 13,373 constables in the metropolitan area. During 1901 they were officered by 32 superintendents, 573 inspectors, and 1,999 sergeants. The number of men available for police duty during the same period was 14,082.

The superior officers of the organization are as follows:

Title.	Salary.
Commissioner	£2,100
Assistant Commissioners (3)	1,250
Chief Clerk	750
Surgeon-in-Chief	600
Clerk of Accounts	600

Besides these officials there are also a Receiver, who attends to the financial department, clerks of the first and second class, assistant clerks, solicitors to the Commissioner, Superintendent of the Executive and Statistical Branch, Superintendents of the Criminal Investigation Department, and also a Superintendent of the public-carriage branch and the lost-property office. The pay of the force, including Superintendents, Inspectors, Sergeants, and Constables, during the year 1900, was, £1,293,952 13*s.*—or considerably over six million dollars. The police bill is paid out of what are called the "rates." The total amount of police rate levied for the year ended March 31st, 1901, was £910,305 10*s.* 9*d.*, and the Local Taxation Account (including £4,389 14*s.* 8*d.* under the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896) contributed £724,964 19*s.* 8*d.* to the police fund during the year.

The area of the different divisions, or precincts, varies very considerably. That of Whitehall, for instance, contains only 1.82 square miles, while the Clapham division takes in over 76. Each

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division has a Superintendent, to whom are assigned the number of Inspectors, Sergeants, and Constables which the Commissioner thinks necessary to meet the needs of his district. Hammersmith, for example, with an area of 73.42 square miles, has a Superintendent, 18 Inspectors, 124 Sergeants, and 726 Constables. Whitechapel, on the other hand, with an area of only 2.08 square miles, has, besides its Superintendent, 25 Inspectors, 57 Sergeants, and 488 Constables.

The pay of the men up to the inspectors is considerably below that received by the New York Police:

	Minimum, Per annum.	Rising by, Per annum.	Maximum, Per annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Inspectors	153 18 7	5 4 0	174 16 0
	Per week.	Per week, Per annum.	Per week.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Station Sergeants	2 7 6	0 1 0	2 10 6
Sergeants	1 16 0	0 1 0	2 2 0
Constables	1 5 6	0 1 0	1 13 6

NOTE.—These rates were fixed in December, 1900.

From this table it will be seen that the constable, as long as he remains in this grade, can never earn more than eight dollars and a fraction a week. This maximum is reached after eight years' service. About eight pence a week are deducted from his salary for superannuation. Retirement, without a medical certificate, is permissible on completion of 25 years' service. The pension received after 15 years' service amounts to one-fourth of the salary drawn at the time of retirement. After 35 years' service the pension given is two-thirds of the salary. In addition to their salaries, married constables receive a weekly lodging allowance of eighteen pence. There are also allowances for clothes. Sergeants, Inspectors, and the other grades of officers pay somewhat more for superannuation than does the constable, but in no case can the deduction from their salaries for this purpose exceed two and a half per cent. The pensions are intended for the men only; their widows and children do not benefit by them.

There are three classes of Inspectors in London—Chief Inspectors, Divisional Inspectors, and ordinary Inspectors. It is the duty of all these men, as their title implies, to see that the subordinates placed under their direction do the work to which they have been assigned. A patrol Inspector, for instance, has about 26 sergeants and constables to look after. He must see that the

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patrol sergeants are in their right "sections," that the constables stick to their respective "beats," and he must be in a position to give a satisfactory account of his own performance of duty whenever called upon to do so. The superintendent of the division is responsible to Scotland Yard for the condition of his district. The beats of the constables are changed every month. Those who are not married, and can be accommodated at the station houses, of which each division has one, pay about a dollar a week for lodging. They are generally allowed to get their meals where they wish, but the married men generally arrange to take at least two meals with their families. The patrol duty of the constable is from eight to twelve hours according to circumstances. Four months of the year he is compelled to go on the night relief.

The Criminal Investigation Department of the London Police is a distinct institution by itself. It comes under the general management of the Commissioner, but an Assistant Commissioner is the real head of the department. It is a popular notion that the term "Scotland Yard" corresponds to what is called the Detective Bureau in New York. This is an erroneous impression. Scotland Yard is the headquarters, or the Central Office, of the entire police force, and what the Londoners call the Criminal Investigation Department corresponds to the American Detective Bureau. At headquarters proper, there are a number of picked men who devote themselves exclusively to ferreting out serious crime. Besides this "flying squadron," if it may be called such, each separate division also has its plain-clothes men—in New York they are called precinct men—who are under the general direction, however, of the superior officers of the Investigation Department at headquarters. Besides the Assistant Commissioner, who is the chief, there is a superintendent, as in the case of the divisions, and there are also inspectors. The plain-clothes men, both at headquarters and in the divisions, receive somewhat higher pay than do the uniformed policemen. They are recruited mainly from those members of the uniformed force who have shown themselves particularly adapted for secret investigations.

Before I was allowed to go upstairs at Scotland Yard and make the personal acquaintance of some of the operatives in the Investigation Department, the Assistant Commissioner cautioned me under no circumstances to mention the names of operatives

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whom I might meet. "We are very hard on men," he said, "whom we suspect of looking for notoriety, and we do not like to see their names in the papers when they can be kept out. We are not seeking any advertisement whatsoever. You have come to us properly accredited, and I shall be glad to show you what you want to see, but I trust that you will be very careful not to talk unnecessarily about your experience."

The most interesting feature of this visit "upstairs," was the opportunity afforded me of studying the system in vogue there of taking finger impressions of criminals. The Bertillon system has been practically given up, finger prints taking its place. The old system was discarded, according to Mr. E. R. Henry, the Assistant-Commissioner, and the author of a very practical text-book* on finger impressions, written for the benefit of policemen, because it was too fallible. Mr. Henry was formerly Inspector-General of Police of the Lower Provinces in India, and while filling this post he experimented with finger impressions until he was convinced that, as compared with the Bertillon system of measurements, it was far superior as a means of identifying criminals. About eighteen months ago, the Home Office, on the recommendation of a Commission, appointed to study the matter and present a report, decided to substitute finger prints for the old system, and the results so far achieved have amply justified the change. In order that the reader may more fully appreciate the reasons for the change, I give here some extracts from Mr. Henry's book, which show why a similar innovation in India was deemed practicable.

Anthropometry.

"(1) Instruments are costly and likely to get out of order.

"(2) Measurers must be put through a special course of instruction, and be possessed of sufficient education to understand the significance of the figures of the decimal scale.

"(3) If measurements are inaccurately taken, or accurately taken but wrongly read off or wrongly transcribed, the error cannot afterwards be discovered and remedied in the office where the cards are permanently kept, and this error will persist and defeat all chance

Identification by Finger Prints.

"(1) Accessories needed, a piece of tin and some printer's ink, are inexpensive and procurable everywhere.

"(2) Any person, whether educated or not, after half an hour's practice, can take legible finger prints.

"(3) Finger prints are absolute impressions taken from the body itself under conditions which eliminate error as regards transcription or recording. An effective device is adopted to guard against their being imprinted in a wrong sequence. After the 'rolled' impres-

* "Classification and Uses of Finger Prints."

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Anthropometry.	*Identification by Finger Prints.*
of successful search. If the data recorded are incorrect, no amount of care can afterwards remedy the defect.	sion of each digit is taken separately, the digits are confined together in a metal guard and impressed simultaneously as 'plain' impressions, thereby securing their occurrence in a correct sequence, and these 'plain' impressions are compared with the 'rolled' impressions at the time of classification. They may get incorrectly classified, but this error will be subsequently rectified, as it must be noticed during some subsequent search.
"(5) A margin greater or less, must always be allowed for errors on the part of the operator, for what may be termed the 'personal equation' error of operators.	"(5) No allowance for error on the part of the operator is made or needed. Working results in India show that, in 1898, 500 anthropometric references necessitated 4,623 pigeon-holes being searched, whereas finger impression references in 1899 necessitated only 707 pigeon-holes being searched.
"(6) Search is made according to the somewhat complicated limits and subsidiary limits in a figured 'key,' the details of which even practised searchers could not be trusted to commit to memory."	"(6) No key is required. The searcher decides whether the impression of each digit, the digits being arranged in five pairs, is a Whorl, or not a Whorl. If it is a Whorl, he gives it a prescribed numerical value according as it occurs in the first, or second, or third, or fourth, or fifth pair, and the sum of such values gives a result fixing the particular pigeon hole, out of 1,024, where the card should be placed. The secondary or sub-classification is done equally rapidly and without a key."

Sir Francis Galton has estimated that not one finger impression out of sixty-four billion is likely to resemble any other, a finding which certainly shuts out the probability of confusing resemblances.

In order to show me how quickly a set of impressions could be located in the general file, one of the operators was sent out of the room, and two sets of impressions were taken of my ten fingers. One set was placed in its proper file in the general collection, the man was recalled, handed the set which corresponded with the one in the file, and told to find the duplicate. He produced it in less than two minutes.

During a conversation with one of the Inspectors, reference was made to the so-called "American invasion" of England by New York and other American thieves, which took place some years

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ago. One of the main instigators of this importation of American criminal "talent" into Great Britain was Adam Worth, the alleged thief of the Gainsborough picture which went back to London not so very long since. I had known for some time one of the members of this gang, and I was anxious to learn what Scotland Yard had thought of them. The Inspector spoke of them as follows:

"They were one of the smartest sets of thieves this country has ever had to deal with. They fooled us for years, and I am not sure that we should ever have got on to them if luck hadn't helped us out some. We had not been used to that kind of criminal. The men you refer to came over here, put on dress suits, lived at swell hotels, and gave the general appearance of being gentlemen of leisure. We had not had many dealings with thieves in dress suits. It was also a new one on us to find them strolling unconcernedly around hotel corridors. One evening I happened in at the Café Monaco, and whom should I see sitting there, big as life, but Billy Porter and the rest of the mob. That was the kind of surprise that we were continually running up against. Of course we eventually succeeded in landing a number of the gang, but it took a long time; and, as I said, luck had a good deal to do with it. They taught us a good lesson which we are not likely to forget."

Before leaving this section of my article, it seems appropriate to refer to the Report which the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police recently made to the Home Secretary. He presents one every year, and it is later handed to both Houses of Parliament by order of the King. Those which I have been able to see are models which American Police Commissioners would do well to study. According to the Report for 1901, there was an increase of 838 in criminal offences, occurring principally under the heads of house-breaking, burglary, forgery and larceny. Felonies relating to property increased from 16,665 in 1900 to 17,433 in the year under report, this being the largest number registered since 1895, and representing an incidence per thousand of population of .261. There was also a very noticeable rise in the amount of loss in respect of these offences, the total reaching the sum of £376,206, an excess of £163,866 over the loss recorded in 1900. Recoveries, however, were on a similarly large scale, the total value of the property restored being £142,490, as compared with £39,178 in the preceding year. Twenty-four cases of murder were reported; in 16 of these the accused were brought before the Courts. In 6, the murderers committed suicide; in one, the mur-

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derers escaped to Italy, but were afterwards brought to book; and in the remaining case the Attorney-General decided not to proceed against the alleged offender. In the 16 cases in which arrests were made, the death sentence was passed in five; in nine the accused were found to be of unsound mind.

So much for the organization of London's Metropolitan Police. Watching thieves and keeping street traffic in order, however, constitute only a part of the London "Bobby's" strenuous life. He must also be a peace-maker when quarrels are in sight, a guardian of women and children who wander into his bailiwick, a protection to drunkards who are unable to care for themselves, and a vigilant caretaker of houses the occupants of which are temporarily out of town.

There is no Pinkerton Agency to supplement police work. There are private detective forces, to be sure, but the public relies on Scotland Yard rather than on outside assistance for the safeguarding of its property and its own personal welfare.

III.

The most striking facts, from the American point of view, concerning the Metropolitan Police of London are, (1) that the force is composed mainly of honest and conscientious men, (2) that politics is not allowed to play any part in the management and direction of the organization, (3) that the Londoners receive, in exchange for the taxes levied for the support of the force, a protection of life and property which makes London one of the safest cities in the world. The most striking difference between the London Police and police forces in the United States, as regards management, is that the former is an Imperial force. The Royal Irish Constabulary and the Metropolitan Police of Dublin are also Imperial organizations.

So far there has been practically no agitation in the United States which has favored control of the police of the country by the National Government. The prevailing sentiment is that each town and hamlet should manage its own police, not even the State being allowed to exercise any direct control in the immediate management of the different police departments within its jurisdiction. One of the results of this system has been that there are almost as many different kinds of police in this country as there are States. Pennsylvania, for instance, chooses the police

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government which the politicians and local "statesmen" see fit to offer the tax-payers, and New York is more or less in the same position. To attempt to describe the different police methods in vogue in the United States would take a bulky volume. In many instances, so many men are responsible for the direction of the policemen, that the public has difficulty in finding the parties upon whom the blame should rest for work poorly done. Although the Londoners are not permitted to manage their police department, they at least have it in their power to call to order very quickly the one man in the nation who is responsible for its direction. Any member of Parliament has a right to ask the Home Secretary to explain why he has allowed certain things to happen, and he is not permitted to squirm out of a direct reply by the tiresome rejoinder: "For the good of the Service." He must have a very valid reason for all of his orders and instructions, and the city as well as the nation sees to it that the money expended buys the best performance of duty that the country can produce.

Concerning police corruption in London, there is very little that I have to report. I failed to find any corruption which could be compared with the blackmailing system for which the New York Police have so long been notorious. There are scattered disorderly houses and gambling dens in London, but they do not exist on account of police connivance, and they are raided by the police authorities whenever located. It is not necessary for a busy District Attorney to leave his office and collect his own evidence. The Police collect it for him. When a gambling den is suspected, clever men are told to watch it until there can be no doubt that illegal gaming is going on. Then the raid takes place, the guilty parties are brought into court, and the magistrate or judge gives them their punishment with very little delay. Appeals are seldom granted, and the Londoners are spared the disgusting postponements and legal subterfuges by which so many guilty gamblers escape imprisonment in the United States. Richard Canfield and his alleged gaming house could not exist a week in London, if it be true that his "dive" was run as openly as has been stated. The place would not only be raided, but Canfield would go to prison. Such a place might be able to run secretly for a while, but it would have to enjoy great luck to keep open for many weeks.

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The closing-hour question is also very much simplified in London—in fact, in England generally. At one half-hour after midnight on week days—except Saturday, when they close at midnight sharp—and at eleven o'clock on Sundays, the public houses shut their doors. On Sundays, the saloons are open from one o'clock in the afternoon until three, and from six o'clock in the evening until eleven. The public makes no attempt to break through these rules.* Five minutes before closing time, the bar-tenders notify all guests to get ready to leave, and those who linger are forcibly shown their way to the street. Publicans, who are found breaking the law lose their licenses, and are put out of business. This is the whip-lash which the police have over all public houses. A similar procedure in New York might have equally beneficial results, if the police would be honest, and see to it that evidence against offenders was carefully collected and presented.

A word in conclusion concerning the constables and politics. In Philadelphia, where I made an investigation some time ago, I was told by a "grafter" that every policeman in the city was expected to be "good" for at least six votes on election days. In New York it is a notorious fact that superior officers, as well as patrolmen, have taken a very active part in electioneering. In London, when a policeman is caught electioneering, or in any way making use of his office for political purposes, he is discharged from the force *instanter*. There are rumors which would seem to indicate that this rule is not followed in certain other towns in England having municipal organizations; but it is rigidly followed in London. That "Bobby" who is moved to take a hand in affairs which do not concern him as an Imperial police officer, ceases to be a "Bobby" from the moment that his interference in outside matters is discovered.

JOSIAH FLYNT.

* "Clubs," which are practically "booze pens," exist in London, and may be entered on Sunday; but the new Licensing Act, which went into effect January 1, 1903, is bound to diminish their number.

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POLYGAMY IN THE UNITED STATES—HAS IT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE?

BY JOSEPH SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

It may be presumptuous for a political layman to undertake to decide what questions are political or economic, and what their political significance may be in American politics. In order to determine whether the fact that polygamy exists in the United States has political significance or not, it may be necessary to give a brief résumé of the history of the church organized by Joseph Smith and others on April 6th, 1830.

That church, known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, whose members are by the outside world called Mormons, was organized in the State of New York, the statutes of which forbade bigamy or polygamy, and made provision for punishing any infraction of monogamic institutions. The church flourished in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois for the fourteen years during which Joseph and Hyrum Smith were connected with it, always under the legal enactments which recognized monogamy as the American ideal of the domestic relation.

So far as the adherents of the new church were concerned, having professed belief in direct present revelation from God, they were compromised by such declaration in an obligation to observe and keep "the laws of the land"—that is, to avoid doing that which would bring them under the just punishment of statutory enactments adopted by the legislatures of the several States in which the church might have existence. The organic law of the church provided, among other things, for a rule to govern the marriage relation, in the following terms:

"Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and none else."*

*"Doctrine and Covenants," 42:7.

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"Whoso forbiddeth to marry, is not ordained of God, for marriage is ordained of God unto man; wherefore it is lawful that he should have one wife, and they twain shall be one flesh, and all this that the earth might answer the end of its creation; and that it might be filled with the measure of man, according to his creation before the world was made."*

Under the institution of this rule, the church in 1835 adopted a certified statement of belief, in solemn assembly, as follows:

"Marriage should be celebrated with prayer and thanksgiving; and at the solemnization, the persons to be married, standing together, the man on the right, and the woman on the left, shall be addressed, by the person officiating, as he shall be directed by the Holy Spirit; and if there be no legal objections, he shall say, calling each by their names: 'You both mutually agree to be each other's companion, husband and wife, observing the legal rights belonging to this condition; that is, keeping yourselves wholly for each other, and from all others, during your lives.' And when they have answered 'Yes,' he shall pronounce them 'husband and wife' in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the laws of the country and authority vested in him.

"All legal contracts of marriage made before a person is baptized into this church, should be held sacred and fulfilled. Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication, and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again."†

This church rule was in force unrepealed and without modification at the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, which occurred on June 27th, 1844. Whatever may have been the originating causes of the difficulties which the church met in Kirtland, Ohio, from 1831 to 1837, it may not be necessary to state, except that, so far as is known, polygamy was not one of the charges upon which its members were arraigned before the public. Their settlement at Independence, and in Jackson County, Missouri, began soon after their removal from New York to Ohio, and the settlements at Kirtland and Independence were to a greater or lesser extent simultaneous.

From what may be gathered from the statements made in the leading journals of the time, and by such men as General A. W. Doniphan, General Atchison, and others who were acquainted with the people, polygamy had no political significance as a dis-

*"Doctrine and Covenants," 49:3.

†"Doctrine and Covenants," 111:2, 3.

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turbing element; for it is known that it did not exist in the church at that time. Evidently, one leading cause of complaint against the people was the dislike which their religious neighbors had to the claim made by the church to the reception of a direct revelation from God. This with a good number of their co-religionists in the State brought them into disrepute. It is evident, however, that the chief cause of complaint was the fact that the greater number of the membership were from the East, and naturally were anti-slavery in political sentiment. Indeed, one declaration in their formulated presentation of faith and belief was to the effect that it was wrong for man to hold his fellow man in slavery. At that time Missouri was a slave State, and anything that was opposed to the principle of slavery was looked upon with dislike, and subjected the holder of such opinion to the open and often violent censure of the pro-slavery element of the State. It was assumed that whoever was opposed to slavery would not make a good Democratic citizen; and from these two elements—religious hatred and political dislike—there arose the persecution which in 1833 brought a portion of the citizens, in disregard of law, into conflict with the fast increasing citizenship brought into the State by their church belief and church relationship.

It may be taken for granted that there were unwise men on either side of the question, and from the condition of the public mind at the time it was not strange that persecution and unlawful violence against the Mormons gave rise to the spirit of resentment and reprisal for wrongs inflicted. In this instance, the question of the existence of plural marriage, either as a church tenet or church practice, did not enter into the controversy.

After the expulsion from Jackson County, Missouri, the people scattered north and east, and an attempt was made to provide for their continuance in the State by setting apart a county for their sole occupancy. This failed, and in 1838, the disturbances having been renewed, the church was expelled from the State; but again the subject of polygamy was not one of the moving causes.

Joseph and Hyrum Smith having been taken prisoners by State military authority in November, 1838, were turned over to the civil authorities for trial. The trial was put off from time to time; and after being confined in jail for some months, they were sent from one county to another, under an officer's care, upon an unsigned *mittimus*. While on the way, by connivance with the

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guard or otherwise, they secured an opportunity to escape, which they availed themselves of. They reached their families at Quincy, Illinois, and, with thousands who had preceded them in leaving the State of Missouri and other thousands who came after, they made a settlement at Commerce, afterwards called Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois.

The persecution which had been waged against them in Missouri followed them to Illinois, and Joseph Smith was subjected to vexatious prosecutions under one pretence and another; but at no time was he charged and made to answer before the courts for immorality, nor was polygamy made a part of the complaint against him at the time of his incarceration and death. After his death, the church broke up into different fragments, one of the larger of which followed the lead of Brigham Young, first to Council Bluffs, commonly called Winter Quarters, thence to the valley of Salt Lake in the Rocky Mountains; and it was not until August, 1852, eight years after the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, that plural marriage or polygamy was proclaimed as a part of the belief of the church in the valleys. Thousands of those who had been members in the church before the death of Joseph Smith refused to accept the dogma and the rule of Brigham Young connected with it.

As early as 1866, inquiry was made in Congress as to what measures might properly be instituted to eliminate polygamy as a vexatious question from the consideration of Utah affairs. The Chairman of the Territorial Committee, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, asked of a person who was a member of the church during the lifetime of Joseph Smith and interested in the question, what measures he would recommend for adoption by Congress in reference to the practice of polygamy. The answer to this question was, that so long as Congress persisted in treating polygamy as a religious tenet and within the meaning of the Constitution, which provided that Congress should neither prescribe a form of religion nor proscribe persons for the practice of their religion, nothing could be done with the subject under discussion. It was further stated to Chairman Ashley that the government, both national and State, had failed unmistakably in enforcing existing laws, either for the Latter-Day Saints or against them, the result of which had been to undermine the confidence of the people in both the lawmaking and the law-enforcing powers; that if existing

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laws had been properly enforced against them if they had been transgressors, that would have been sufficient to prevent the practice of plural marriage from growing into a menace, as it has been called, against the American home. If the laws had been enforced in their behalf, there would have been greater respect for both the laws and those whose duty it was to enforce them. It was a confession of weakness either to hold or to state that so small a number of people could continue to violate the laws of both State and nation, as it was alleged they had been doing, and escape the just punishment of wrongdoing because of the inability of the governments to enforce their laws; especially so, as by one of the fundamental principles of the church the members thereof were held directly responsible to "keep the laws of the land," the divine revelation which they believed in distinctly affirming:

"Let no man break the laws of the land, for he that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land; wherefore be subject to the powers that be, until He reigns whose right it is to reign."*

No effectual law was passed at that time; but from one stage to another, under first one administration and then another, the whole matter appears to have been trifled with, so that no effective legislation was enacted. The sending in of Johnston's army, the resistance of the Utah people to the invasion, the abandonment of the city by President Young and his followers, and the hegira south, the entrance of the army, the establishment of a military post at Camp Douglas, the appointment of governors, the making of territorial laws, all went on under seeming acquiescence upon the part of the government, until the passage of the Edmunds bill, by which polygamy was made a crime and an active prosecution began under that law. Under the operation of that prosecution hundreds of polygamists, including many leading men of the church, were arrested and punished by fine and imprisonment, the result of which was that after a time judges and officers became disgusted with the apparent futility of endeavoring to establish the supremacy of law by such means.

Following this active effort to secure a proper respect for the law and institutions of the country, an attempt was made to secure statehood for Utah. Efforts had already been made in the same direction, but without avail. By a Manifesto issued by Wilford

*"Doctrine and Covenants," 58:5.

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Woodruff, acting President of the Church in Utah, in the fall of 1890, there was proclaimed what was understood to be an abandonment of polygamous marriages; or, as stated upon oath, before a commissioner of the United States Court, the practice of polygamy was abandoned.

Upon the strength of this abandonment, Congress passed a bill, under the care of Senator Edmunds, including an Enabling Act, by which Utah became a State, with the peculiar clause, both in the Enabling Act and in the Constitution of the State, that polygamous marriages were forever prohibited.

It is not a little singular that the construction put upon this phrase, "polygamous marriages," should have left the question in such a condition that persons who had married polygamous wives were left to continue their connection with those wives, at the sufferance of a clause in the State regulations punishing such associations as "unlawful cohabitation."

All through these efforts made in Congress, certainly from 1866 up to the passage of the Edmunds bill, there had been evasion of responsibility for enforcement of law, a continued persistence on the part of those practising plural marriage and a perpetual shifting of position. To what may this be attributed? Utah had been for many years possessed of the number of inhabitants requisite to constitute a State. Territorial laws had been passed by the territorial legislature in which marriage had been made a creature of church domination entirely, and the status of woman as a wife and as a widow had been left to church settlement, without interference on the part of the United States. The attention of Governor Murray had been called to this peculiar condition, and he had reported the same to Congress, and yet no further attention had been paid to it. There was persistent effort upon the part of the citizens of Utah, including the church, to secure Statehood. Even the women of Utah held conventions from time to time, and, so far as they could, made provision for its being received into Statehood. There was evidently a hesitancy upon the part of Congress or some parties in Congress to permit the entrance of Utah into the sisterhood of States while yet polygamy was an acknowledged tenet of the church. The two parties were quite nearly balanced during the most of this time, and the accession of two Senators from the State of Utah could easily have turned the balance of power at times. A curious observer might

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have asked the question, and doubtless did, Why was this not done? The answer is, evidently, that the party to be injured by such increase of power in the Senate was hostile to such action. Why should the treating of polygamy as a crime against the laws and institutions of the United States, which it clearly was, have been so long delayed, and the persistent apparent recognition of it as a religious tenet and within the limits of the constitutional privilege thus either positively or tacitly admitted? How does it happen that at each attempted successive effort at legislation something has intervened to prevent that legislation or to change its application or operation, until finally either by an oversight on the part of Senator Edmunds who drafted the bill, the Enabling Act, or the cunning of those who formed the convention that framed the Constitution under which Utah was admitted, polygamy is made to mean simply the act of marrying more than one woman, and not the living with more than one woman at the same time as wives, which is the plain and most direct construction given to the word "polygamy" by the lexicographer.

An attempted explanation upon this point by Senator Edmunds, after such construction was put upon it, leaves the fact that persons practising polygamy—living with more than one woman at the same time as wives—are to be dealt with under the statutory provisions regarding "unlawful cohabitation."

Joseph F. Smith, present President of the Utah Church, states in substance that they have submitted to the action of Congress after a long contest in the courts; and this long contest in Congress and in the courts has left the condition of affairs like this: There are quite a number of men, leading ministers and officers in the church in Utah, who are living with more than one woman as wives, and are having children by them, it is to be presumed. They are punishable under State law only for unlawful cohabitation, and the penalty for such conduct is a fine so slight that some of these men can easily pay the penalty as often as their infraction of the law results in tangible evidence of their offence by the birth of offspring, it being quite out of the question under ordinary circumstances to prove unlawful cohabitation without such evidence. Besides this, it is quite within the possibilities that plural marriages may be performed in the temples in Utah without the officers of the courts obtaining any proofs of such marriages. And further than this: persons may be married in

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other places than Utah who may already have wives in Utah, and, removing within the State, may live with two or more upon the strength of such marriage, without involving themselves or the church in a breach of the clause which says, "Polygamous marriages are forever prohibited." And it might be impossible to obtain proof of such marriages.

The election of Brigham H. Roberts to Congress a few years since brought the question directly home to the American public: "Shall a polygamist be permitted to hold a seat in the legislative halls of the nation?" This question was decided negatively, and Mr. Roberts failed of admission. The question arises again, when it is contemplated that Reed Smoot, of the Apostolic Quorum of the Utah Church, shall be admitted to the office of United States Senator. As we understand it, Mr. Smoot is not a polygamist, and ought not to be excluded on this account; nor can he justly be excluded upon the plea that he is a Mormon.

Utah is now a State having all the characteristics that appertain to one of the sisterhood in the American Republic. The animosities which were engendered during the time when the people were divided in politics into what was known as the Liberal, upon the one hand, and the Church Party, upon the other, have apparently died out, and their causes have passed into oblivion. If, therefore, there should be no revival of the vexing question, there is little reason to apprehend that it will again become a disturbing element in the politics of the State. There is, however, a strong feeling on the part of the public outside of Utah against the church, not altogether based upon the polygamic question, but upon the supposition that the Mormon people are making an effort to secure political control not only in Utah, but in others of the Western States, through which they may in time secure such conditions by State enactments as will permit them to throw off the mask of acquiescence in the national legislation by which they are now under obligation not to continue polygamous marriages, and to reinstate the practice as a church dogma.

It is this effort to secure political supremacy or balance of power that is ostensibly held to be the reason of the hostility to Utah now apparent outside of the State. This hostility is being emphasized by a crusade fostered by some of the prominent churches of the land, assisted by a Woman's League of which Miss

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Helen Gould is a prominent member and active worker, and which is seeking to secure the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the practice of polygamy or plural marriage in the States and Territories of the Union.

If the object which is had in view by this active crusade is indicative of anything, it is indicative of the fact that polygamy in Utah has significance in the politics of the United States.

It is to be hoped by every one who is favorable to the establishment of right conditions in the United States, that, should there be submitted to the various States a proposition for an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the practice of polygamy or plural marriage as above stated, the framers of it shall not be so careless as to leave so transparent a loophole of escape from obedience to its requirements as was left in the Enabling Act by which Utah became a State, and which has been perpetuated in the Constitution under which she was admitted into the federation of States. Should such a thing occur in spite of such amendment to the Constitution, and should the plain and most obvious meaning of the word "polygamy" fail to be understood as meaning the living together with more than one woman as wives, as is now the condition in Utah, there would be added reason for believing that undue influences had been at work to secure favorable legislation in the halls of Congress, with a view to the continuance of such conditions and to the prevention of carrying into effect the public opinion of the majority of States. Such a result as this certainly ought not to follow.

With a view to calling the attention of the reading public to this phase of the question, this article is written, and an earnest wish is expressed that statesmen and politicians shall not again be fooled or outwitted into permitting such a political menace to continue.

JOSEPH SMITH.

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THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART III.

VI.

STRETHER told Waymarsh all about it that very evening, on their dining together at the hotel; which needn't have happened, he was all the while aware, had he not chosen to sacrifice to this occasion a rarer opportunity. The mention to his companion of the sacrifice was, moreover, exactly what introduced his recital—or, as he would have called it with more confidence in his interlocutor, his confession. His confession was that he had been captured, and that one of the features of the affair had just failed to be his engaging himself on the spot to dinner. As by such a freedom Waymarsh would have lost him, he had obeyed his scruple; and he had likewise obeyed another scruple—which bore on the question of his himself bringing a guest.

Waymarsh looked gravely ardent, over the finished soup, at this array of scruples; Strether had not yet got quite used to being so unprepared for the consequences of the impression he made. It was comparatively easy to explain, however, that he hadn't felt sure his guest would please. The person was a young man whose acquaintance he had made but that afternoon in the course of rather a hindered inquiry for another person—an inquiry that his new friend had just prevented, in fact, from being vain. "Oh," said Strether, "I've all sorts of things to tell you!"—and he said it in a way that was a virtual hint to Waymarsh to help him to enjoy the telling. He waited for his fish, he drank of his wine, he wiped his long mustache, he leaned back in his chair, he took in the two English ladies who had just creaked past them and whom he would even have articulately greeted if they hadn't rather chilled the impulse; so that all he could do was—by way of doing something—to say *"Merci, François!"* out quite loud when his fish was brought. Everything was there that he wanted, everything that could make the moment an occasion that would do beautifully—everything but what Waymarsh might give. The little waxed *salle-à-manger* was sallow and sociable; François dancing over it,

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all smiles, was a man and a brother; the high-shouldered *patronne*, with her high-held, much-rubbed hands, seemed always assenting exuberantly to something unsaid; the Paris evening, in short, was, for Strether, in the very taste of the soup, in the goodness, as he was innocently pleased to think it, of the wine, in the pleasant coarse texture of the napkin and the crunch of the thick-crusted bread. These were things, all, congruous with his confession, and his confession was that he *had*—it would come out properly just there if Waymarsh would only take it properly—agreed to breakfast out, at twelve literally, the next day. He didn't quite know where; the delicacy of the case came straight up in the remembrance of his new friend's "We'll see; I'll take you somewhere!"—for it had required little more than that, after all, to let him right in. He was seized after a minute, face to face with his actual comrade, with the impulse to overcolor. There had already been things in respect to which he knew himself tempted by this perversity. If Waymarsh thought them bad he should at least have his reason for his discomfort; so Strether showed them as worse. Still, he was now, in his way, sincerely perplexed.

Chad had been absent from the Boulevard Malesherbes—was absent from Paris altogether; he had learned that from the concierge, but had nevertheless gone up, and gone up—there were no two ways about it—from an uncontrollable, a really, if one would, depraved, curiosity. The concierge had mentioned to him that a friend of the tenant of the *troisième* was for the time in possession; and this had been Strether's pretext for a further inquiry, an experiment carried on, under Chad's roof, without his knowledge. "I found his friend in fact there, keeping the place warm, as he called it, for him; Chad himself being, as appears, in the south. He went a month ago to Cannes, and though his return begins to be looked for it can't be for some days. I might, you see, perfectly have waited a week; might have beaten a retreat as soon as I got this essential knowledge. But I beat no retreat; I did the opposite; I stayed, I dawdled, I trifled; above all I looked round. I saw, in fine; and—I don't know what to call it—I sniffed. It's a detail, but it's as if there were something—something very good—*to* sniff."

Waymarsh's face had shown his friend an attention apparently so remote that the latter was slightly surprised to find it at this point abreast with him. "Do you mean a smell? What of?"

"A charming scent. But I don't know."

Waymarsh gave an inferential grunt. "Does he live there with a woman?"

But Strether had already answered. "I don't know."

Waymarsh waited an instant for more, then resumed: "Has he taken her off with him?"

"And will he bring her back?"—Strether fell into the inquiry. But he wound it up as before. "I don't know."

The way he wound it up, accompanied as this was with another

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drop back, another degustation of the Léoville, another wipe of his mustache and another good word for François, produced apparently in his companion a slight irritation. "Then what the devil *do* you know?"

"Well," said Strether almost gayly, "I guess I don't know anything!" His gayety might have been a tribute to the fact that the state he had been reduced to did for him again what had been done by his talk of the matter with Miss Gostrey at the London theatre. It was somehow enlarging; and the air of that amplitude was now doubtless more or less—and all for Waymarsh to feel—in his further response. "That's what I found out from the young man."

"But I thought you said you found out nothing."

"Nothing but that—that I don't know anything."

"And what good does that do you?"

"It's just," said Strether, "what I've come to you to help me to discover. I mean anything about anything over here. I *felt* that, up there. It regularly rose before me in its might. The young man, moreover—Chad's friend—as good as told me so."

"As good as told you you know nothing about anything?" Waymarsh seemed to look at some one who might have as good as told *him*. "How old is he?"

"Well, I guess not thirty."

"Yet you had to take that from him?"

"Oh, I took a good deal more—since, as I tell you, I took an invitation to *déjeuner*."

"And are you *going* to that unholy meal?"

"If you'll come with me. He wants you too, you know. I told him about you. He gave me his card," Strether pursued, "and his name is rather funny. It's John Little Bilham, and he says his two surnames are, on account of his being small, inevitably used together."

"Well," Waymarsh asked with due detachment from these details, "what is he doing up there?"

"His account of himself is that he's 'only a little artist-man.' That seemed to me perfectly to describe him. But he's yet in the phase of study; this, you know, is the great art-school—to pass a certain number of years in which he came over. And he's a great friend of Chad's, and occupying Chad's rooms just now because they're so pleasant. *He's* very pleasant and curious too," Strether added—"though he's not from Boston."

Waymarsh looked already rather sick of him. "Where *is* he from?"

Strether thought. "I don't know that, either. But he's 'notoriously,' as he put it himself, not from Boston."

"Well," Waymarsh moralized from dry depths, "every one can't notoriously *be* from Boston. Why," he continued, "is he curious?"

"Perhaps just for *that*—for one thing! But really," Strether added, "for everything. When you meet him you'll see."

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"Oh, I don't want to meet him," Waymarsh impatiently growled. "Why don't he go home?"

Strether hesitated. "Well, because he likes it over here."

This appeared in particular more than Waymarsh could bear. "He ought then to be ashamed of himself, and, as you admit that you think so too, why drag him in?"

Strether's reply again took time. "Perhaps I do think so myself—though I don't quite yet admit it. I'm not a bit sure—it's again one of the things I want to find out. I liked him, and *can* you like people—? But no matter." He pulled himself up. "There's no doubt I want you to come down on me and squash me."

Waymarsh helped himself to the next course, which, however, proving not the dish he had just noted as supplied to the English ladies, had the effect of causing his imagination temporarily to wander. But it presently broke out at a softer spot. "Have they got a handsome place up there?"

"Oh, a charming place; full of beautiful and valuable things. I never saw such a place—" and Strether's thought went back to it. "For a little artist-man—!" He could in fact scarce express it.

But his companion, who appeared now to have a view, insisted. "Well?"

"Well, life can hold nothing better. Besides, they're things of which he's in charge."

"So that he does doorkeeper for your precious pair? Can life," Waymarsh inquired, "hold nothing better than *that?*" Then as Strether, silent, seemed even yet to wonder, "Doesn't he know what *she* is?" he went on.

"I don't know. I didn't ask him. I couldn't. It was impossible. You wouldn't either. Besides, I didn't want to. No more would you." Strether in short explained it at a stroke. "You can't make out over here what people do know."

"Then what did you come over for?"

"Well, I suppose exactly to see for myself—without their aid."

"Then what do you want mine for?"

"Oh," Strether laughed, "you're not one of *them!* I do know what *you* know."

As, however, this last assertion caused Waymarsh again to look at him hard—such being the latter's doubt of its implications—he felt his justification lame. Which was still more the case when Waymarsh presently said: "Look here, Strether. Quit this."

Our friend smiled with a doubt of his own. "Do you mean my tone?"

"No—damn your tone. I mean your nosing round. Quit the whole job. Let them stew in their juice. You're being used for a thing you ain't fit for. People don't take a fine-tooth comb to groom a horse."

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"Am I a fine-tooth comb?" Strether laughed. "It's something I never called myself!"

"It's what you are, all the same. You ain't so young as you were, but you've kept your teeth."

He acknowledged his friend's humor. "Take care I don't get them into *you!* You'd like them, my friends at home, Waymarsh," he declared; "you'd really particularly like them. And I know"—it was slightly irrelevant, but he gave it sudden and singular force—"I know they'd like you!"

"Oh, don't work them off on *me!*" Waymarsh groaned.

Yet Strether still lingered with his hands in his pockets. "It's really quite as indispensable as I say that Chad should be got back."

"Indispensable to whom? To you?"

"Yes," Strether presently said.

"Because if you get him you also get Mrs. Newsome?"

Strether faced it. "Yes."

"And if you don't get him you don't get her?"

It might be merciless, but he continued not to flinch. "I think it might have some effect on our personal understanding. Chad's of real importance—or can easily become so if he will—to the business."

"And the business is of real importance to his mother's husband?"

"Well, I naturally want what my future wife wants. And the thing will be much better if we have our own man in it."

"If you have your own man in it, in other words," Waymarsh said, "you'll marry—you personally—more money. She's already rich, as I understand you, but she'll be richer still if the business can be made to boom on certain lines that you've laid down."

"*I* haven't laid them down," Strether promptly returned. "Mr. Newsome—who knew extraordinarily well what he was about—laid them down ten years ago."

Oh well, Waymarsh seemed to indicate with a shake of his mane, *that* didn't matter! "You're fierce for the boom anyway."

His friend weighed a moment in silence the justice of the charge. "I can scarcely be called fierce, I think, when I so freely take my chance of the possibility, the danger, of being influenced in a sense counter to Mrs. Newsome's own feelings."

Waymarsh gave this proposition a long, hard look. "I see. You're afraid yourself of being squared. But you're a humbug," he added, "all the same."

"Oh!" Strether quickly protested.

"Yes, you ask me for protection—which makes you very interesting; and then you won't take it. You say you want to be squashed—"

"Ah, but not so easily! Don't you see," Strether demanded, "where my interest, as already shown you, lies? It lies in my not

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being squared. If I'm squared where's my marriage? If I miss my errand, I miss that; and if I miss that, I miss everything—I'm nowhere."

Waymarsh—but all relentlessly—took this in. "What do I care where you are if you're spoiled?"

Their eyes met on it an instant. "Thank you awfully," Strether at last said. "But don't you think *her* judgment of that—?"

"Ought to content me? No."

It kept them again face to face, and the end of this was that Strether again laughed. "You do her injustice. You really *must* know her. Good-night."

He breakfasted with Mr. Bilham on the morrow, and, as inconsequently befell, with Waymarsh massively of the party. The latter announced, at the eleventh hour and much to his friend's surprise, that, damn it, he would as soon join him as do anything else; on which they proceeded together, strolling in a state of detachment practically luxurious for them, to the Boulevard Malesherbes, a couple engaged that day with the sharp spell of Paris as confessedly, it might have been seen, as any couple among the daily thousands so compromised. They walked, wandered, wondered and, a little, lost themselves; Strether had not had for years so rich a consciousness of time — a bag of gold into which he constantly dipped for a handful. It was present to him that when the little business with Mr. Bilham should be over he would still have shining hours to use absolutely as he liked. There was no great pulse of haste yet in this process of saving Chad; nor was that effect a bit more marked as he sat, half an hour later, with his legs under Chad's mahogany, with Mr. Bilham on one side, with a friend of Mr. Bilham's on the other, with Waymarsh stupendously opposite, and with the great hum of Paris coming up in softness, vagueness—for Strether himself indeed already positive sweetness—through the sunny windows toward which, the day before, from below, his curiosity had raised its wings. The feeling that had been with him at that moment had borne fruit almost faster than he could taste it, and Strether literally felt, at the present moment, that there was a precipitation in his fate. He had known nothing and nobody as he stood in the street; but had not his view now taken a bound in the direction of every one and of everything?

"What is he up to, what is he up to?"—something like that was at the back of his head all the while in respect to little Bilham; but meanwhile, till he should make out, every one and everything were as good as represented for him by the combination of his host and the lady on his left. The lady on his left, the lady thus promptly and ingeniously invited to "meet" Mr. Strether and Mr. Waymarsh—it was the way she herself expressed her case—was a very marked person, a person who had much to do with our friend's asking himself if the occasion were not in its essence the most baited, the most gilded of traps. Baited it could properly be called

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when the repast was of so wise a savor, and gilded surrounding objects seemed inevitably to need to be when Miss Barrace—which was the lady's name—looked at them with convex Parisian eyes and through a glass with a remarkably long tortoise-shell handle. Why Miss Barrace, mature, meagre, erect and eminently gay, highly adorned, perfectly familiar, freely contradictious and reminding him of some last-century portrait of a clever head without powder—why Miss Barrace should have been in particular the note of a "trap" Strether could not on the spot have explained; he blinked in the light of a conviction that he should know later on, and know well—as it came over him, for that matter, with force, that he should need to. He wondered what he was to think exactly of either of his new friends; since the young man, Chad's intimate and deputy, had, in thus constituting the scene, practised so much more subtly than he had been prepared for, and since, in especial, Miss Barrace, surrounded clearly by every consideration, had not scrupled to figure as a feature. It was interesting to him to feel that he was in the presence of new measures, other standards, a different scale of relations, and that evidently here were a happy pair who didn't think of things at all as he and Waymarsh thought. Nothing was less to have been calculated in the business than that it should now be for him as if he and Waymarsh were comparatively quite at one.

The latter was magnificent—this at least was an assurance privately given him by Miss Barrace. "Oh, your friend's a type, the grand old American—what shall one call it? The Hebrew prophet, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, who used when I was a little girl in the Rue Montaigne, to come to see my father and who was usually the American Minister to the Tuileries or some other court. I haven't seen one, these ever so many years; the sight of it warms my poor old chilled heart; this specimen is wonderful; in the right quarter, you know, he'll have a *succès fou.*" Strether had not failed to ask what the right quarter might be, much as he required his presence of mind to meet such a change in their scheme. "Oh, the artist-quarter, and that kind of thing; *here,* already, for instance, as you see." He had been on the point of echoing "'Here?'—is *this* the artist-quarter?" but she had already disposed of the question with a wave of all her tortoise-shell and an easy "Bring him to *me!*" He knew on the spot how little he should be able to bring him, for the very air was by this time, to his sense, thick and hot with poor Waymarsh's judgment of it. He was in the trap still more than his companion, and, unlike his companion, not making the best of it; which was precisely what gave him, doubtless, his admirable sombre glow. Little did Miss Barrace know that what was behind it was his grave estimate of her own laxity. The general assumption with which our two friends had arrived had been that of finding Mr. Bilham ready to conduct them to one or other of those resorts of the earnest, the æsthetic fraternity which were

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shown among the sights of Paris. In this character it would have justified them in a proper insistence on discharging their score. Waymarsh's only proviso, at the last, had been that nobody should pay for him; but he found himself, as the occasion developed, paid for on a scale as to which Strether privately made out that he already nursed retribution. Strether was conscious across the table of what worked in him, conscious when they passed back to the small salon to which, the previous evening, he himself had made so rich a reference; conscious most of all as they stepped out to the balcony in which one would have had to be an ogre not to recognize the perfect place for easy aftertastes. These things were enhanced, for Miss Barrace, by a succession of excellent cigarettes—acknowledged, acclaimed, as a part of the wonderful supply left behind him by Chad—in an almost equal absorption of which Strether found himself blindly, almost wildly pushing forward. He might perish by the sword as well as by famine, and he knew that his having abetted the lady by an excess that was rare with him would count for little in the sum—as Waymarsh might so easily add it up—of her license. Waymarsh had smoked of old, smoked hugely; but Waymarsh did nothing now, and that gave him his advantage over people who took things up lightly just when others had laid them heavily down. Strether had never smoked, and he felt as if he flaunted at his friend that this had been only because of a reason. The reason, it now began to appear even to himself, was that he had never had a lady to smoke with.

It was this lady's being there at all, however, that was the strange, free thing; perhaps, since she *was* there, her smoking was the least of her freedoms. If Strether had been sure at each juncture of what—with Bilham in especial—she talked about, he might have traced others and winced at them and felt Waymarsh wince; but he was in fact so often at sea that his sense of the range of reference was merely general and that he on several different occasions guessed and interpreted only to doubt. He wondered what they meant, but there were things he scarce thought they could be supposed to mean, and "Oh no—not *that!*" was at the end of most of his ventures. This was the very beginning with him of a condition as to which, later on, as will be seen, he found cause to pull himself up; and he was to remember the moment duly as the first step in a process. The central fact of the place was neither more nor less, when analyzed—and a pressure superficial sufficed—than the fundamental impropriety of Chad's situation, round about which they thus seemed cynically clustered. Accordingly, since they took it for granted, they took for granted all that, in connection with it, was taken for granted at Woollett—matters as to which, verily, he had been reduced with Mrs. Newsome to the last intensity of silence. That was the consequence of their being too bad to be talked about, and was the accompaniment, by the same token, of a deep conception of their badness. It befell, therefore, that when

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poor Strether put it to himself that their badness was, ultimately, or perhaps even insolently, what such a scene as the one before him was, so to speak, built upon, he could scarce shirk the dilemma of reading a roundabout echo of them into almost anything that came up. This, he was well aware, was a dreadful necessity; but such was the stern logic, he could only gather, of a relation to the irregular life.

It was the way the irregular life sat upon Bilham and Miss Barrace that was the insidious, the delicate marvel. He was eager to concede that their relation to it was all indirect, for anything else, in him, would have shown the grossness of bad manners; but the indirectness was none the less consonant—*that* was striking—with a grateful enjoyment of everything that was Chad's. They spoke of him repeatedly, invoking his good name and good nature, and the worst confusion of mind for Strether was that all their mention of him was of a kind to do him honor. They commended his munificence and approved his taste, and in doing so sat down, as it seemed to Strether, in the very soil out of which these things flowered. Our friend's final predicament was that he himself was sitting down, for the time, with them, and there was a supreme moment at which, compared with his collapse, Waymarsh's erectness affected him as really high. One thing was certain—he saw he must make up his mind. He must approach Chad, must wait for him, deal with him, master him, but he must not dispossess himself of the faculty of seeing things as they were. He must bring him to *him*—not go himself, as it were, so much of the way. He must at any rate be clearer as to what—should he continue to do that for convenience—he was still condoning. It was on the detail of this quantity—and what could the fact be but mystifying?—that Bilham and Miss Barrace threw so little light. So there they were.

VII.

When Miss Gostrey arrived, at the end of a week, she made him a sign; he went immediately to see her, and it was not till then that he could again close his grasp on the idea of a corrective. This idea, however, was luckily all before him again from the moment he crossed the threshold of the little entresol of the Quartier Marbœuf into which she had gathered, as she said, picking them up in a thousand flights and funny little passionate pounces, the makings of a final nest. He recognized in an instant that there really, there only, he should find the boon with the vision of which he had first mounted Chad's stairs. He might have been a little scared at the picture of how much more, in this place, he should know himself "in," had not his friend been on the spot to measure the amount to his appetite. Her compact and crowded little chambers, almost dusky, as they at first struck him, with accumulations, represented a supreme general adjustment to opportunities and condi-

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tions. Wherever he looked he saw an old ivory or an old brocade, and he scarce knew where to sit for fear of a misappliance. The life of the occupant struck him, of a sudden, as more charged with possession even than Chad's or than Miss Barrace's; wide as his glimpse had lately become of the empire of "things," what was before him still enlarged it; the lust of the eyes and the pride of life had indeed thus their temple. It was the innermost nook of the shrine—as brown as a pirate's cave. In the brownness were glints of gold; patches of purple were in the gloom; objects, all, that caught, through the muslin, with their high rarity, the light of the low windows. Nothing was clear about them but that they were precious, and they brushed his ignorance with their contempt as a flower, in a liberty taken with him, might have been whisked under his nose. But after a full look at his hostess he knew, none the less, what most concerned him. The circle in which they stood together was warm with life, and every question between them would live there as nowhere else. A question came up as soon as they had spoken, for his answer, with a laugh, was quickly: "Well, they've got hold of me!" Much of their talk, on this first occasion, was his development of that truth. He was extraordinarily glad to see her, expressing to her frankly what she most showed him, that one might live for years without a blessing unsuspected, but that to know it at last for no more than three days was to need it, or miss it, forever. She was the blessing that had now become his need, and what could prove it better than that without her he had lost himself?

"What do you mean?" she asked with an absence of alarm that, correcting him as if he had mistaken the "period" of one of her pieces, gave him afresh a sense of her easy movement through the maze he had but begun to tread. "What in the name of all the Pococks have you managed to do?"

"Why, exactly the wrong thing. I've made a frantic friend of little Bilham."

"Ah, that sort of thing was of the essence of your case and to have been allowed for from the first." And it was only after this that, quite as a minor matter, she asked who in the world little Bilham might be. When she learned that he was a friend of Chad's and living for the time in Chad's rooms in Chad's absence, quite as if acting in Chad's spirit and serving Chad's cause, she showed, however, more interest. "Should you mind my seeing him? Only once, you know," she added.

"Oh, the oftener the better: he's amusing—he's original."

"He doesn't shock you?" Miss Gostrey threw out.

"Never in the world! We escape that with a perfection—! I feel it to be largely, no doubt, because I don't half understand him; but our *modus vivendi* isn't spoiled even by that. You must dine with me to meet him," Strether went on. "Then you'll see."

"Are you giving dinners?"

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"Yes—there I am. That's what I mean."

All her kindness wondered. "That you're spending too much money?"

"Dear, no—they seem to cost so little. But that I do it to *them*. I ought to hold off."

She thought again—she laughed. "The money you must be spending—to think it cheap! But I must be out of it—to the naked eye."

He looked for a moment as if she were really failing him. "Then you won't meet them?" It was almost as if she had developed an unexpected personal prudence.

She hesitated. "Who are they—first?"

"Why, little Bilham—to begin with." He kept back for the moment Miss Barrace. "And Chad—when he comes—you must absolutely see."

"When then does he come?"

"When Bilham has had time to write him, and hear from him, about me. Bilham, however," he pursued, "will report favorably—favorably for Chad. That will make him not afraid to come. I want you the more, therefore, you see, for my bluff."

"Oh, you'll do yourself for your bluff." She was perfectly easy. "At the rate you've gone I'm quiet."

"Ah, but I haven't," said Strether, "made one protest."

She turned it over. "Haven't you been seeing what there is to protest about?"

He let her, with this, however ruefully, have the whole truth. "I haven't yet found a single thing."

"Isn't there any one *with* him then?"

"Of the sort I came out about?" Strether took a moment. "How do I know? And what do I care?"

"Oh, oh!"—and her laughter spread. He was struck in fact by the effect on her of his joke. He saw now how he meant it as a joke. *She* saw, however, still other things. But in an instant she had hidden them. "You've got at no facts at all?"

He tried to muster them. "Well, he has a lovely home."

"Ah, that, in Paris," she quickly returned, "proves nothing. That is, rather, it *dis*proves nothing. They may very well, you see, the people your mission is concerned with, have done it *for* him."

"Exactly. And it was on the scene of their doings then that Waymarsh and I sat guzzling."

"Oh, if you forbore to guzzle here on scenes of doings," she replied, "you might easily die of starvation." With which she smiled at him. "You've worse before you."

"Ah, I've *everything* before me. But on our hypothesis, you know, they must be wonderful."

"They *are!*" said Miss Gostrey. "You're not, therefore, you see," she added, "wholly without facts. They've *been,* in effect, wonderful."

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To have got at something comparatively definite appeared at last a little a help—a wave by which, moreover, the next moment, recollection was washed. "My young man does admit, furthermore, that they're our friend's great interest."

"Is that the expression he uses?"

Strether more exactly recalled. "No—not quite."

"Something more vivid? Less?"

He had bent, with neared glasses, over a group of articles on a small stand; and at this he came up. "It was a mere allusion, but, on the lookout as I was, it struck me. 'Awful, you know, as he is'—those were Bilham's words."

"'Awful, you know—'? Oh!"—and Miss Gostrey turned them over. She seemed, however, satisfied. "Well, what more do you want?"

He glanced once more at a *bibelot* or two, but everything sent him back. "But it *is*, all the same, as if they wished to let me have it between the eyes."

She wondered. "*Quoi donc?*"

"Why, what I speak of. The amenity. They can stun you with that as well as with anything else."

"Oh," she answered, "you'll come round! I must see them each," she went on, "for myself. I mean Mr. Bilham and Mr. Newsome—Mr. Bilham naturally first. Once only—once for each; that will do. But face to face—for half an hour. What is Mr. Chad," she immediately pursued, "doing at Cannes? Decent men don't go to Cannes with the—well, with the kind you mean."

"Don't they?" Strether asked with an interest in decent men that amused her.

"No; elsewhere, but not to Cannes. Cannes is different. Cannes is better. Cannes is best. I mean it's all people you know—when you do know them. And if *he* does, why, that's different too. He must have gone alone. She can't be with him."

"I haven't," Strether confessed in his weakness, "the least idea." There seemed much in what she said; but he was able, after a little, to help her to a nearer impression. The meeting with little Bilham took place, by easy arrangement, in the great gallery of the Louvre; and when, standing with his fellow-visitor before one of the splendid Titians—the overwhelming portrait of the young man with the strangely shaped glove and the blue-gray eyes—he turned to see the third member of their party advance from the end of the waxed and gilded vista, he had a sense of having at last taken hold. He had agreed with Miss Gostrey—it dated even from Chester—for a morning at the Louvre, and he had embraced, independently, the same idea as thrown out by little Bilham, whom he had already accompanied to the museum of the Luxembourg. The fusion of these schemes presented no difficulty, and it was to strike him again that, in little Bilham's company, difficulty, in general, dropped.

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"Oh, he's all right—he's one of *us!*" Miss Gostrey, after the first exchange, soon found a chance to murmur to her companion; and Strether, as they proceeded and paused, as a quick unanimity, between the two, appeared to have phrased itself in half a dozen remarks—Strether knew that he knew, almost immediately, what she meant, and took it as still another sign that he had got his job in hand. This was the more grateful to him that he could think of the intelligence now serving him as an acquisition positively new. He wouldn't have known even the day before what she meant —that is if she meant, what he assumed, that they were intense Americans together. He had just worked round—and with a sharper turn of the screw than any yet—to the conception of an American intense as little Bilham was intense. The young man was his first specimen; the specimen had profoundly perplexed him; at present, however, there was light. It was by little Bilham's amazing serenity that he had been at first affected, but he had inevitably, in his circumspection, felt it as the trail of the serpent, the corruption, as he might conveniently have said, of Europe; whereas the promptness with which it came up for Miss Gostrey as but a special little form of the oldest thing they knew justified it, to his own vision as well, on the spot. He wanted to be able to like his specimen with a clear good conscience, and this fully permitted it. What had muddled him was precisely the small artist-man's way—it was so complete—of being more American than anybody; but it now, for the time, put Strether vastly at his ease to have this view of a new way.

The amiable youth, then, looked out, as it had first struck Strether, at a world in respect to which he hadn't a prejudice. The one our friend most instantly missed was the usual one in favor of an occupation accepted. Little Bilham had an occupation, but it was only an occupation declined; and it was by his general exemption from alarm, anxiety or remorse on this score that the impression of his serenity was made. He had come out to Paris to paint—to sound, that is, at large, that mystery; but study had been fatal to him so far as anything *could* be fatal, and his productive power faltered in proportion as his knowledge grew. Strether had gathered from him that at the moment of his finding him in Chad's rooms he had not saved from his shipwreck a scrap of anything but his beautiful intelligence and his confirmed habit of Paris. He referred to these things with an equal fond familiarity, and it was sufficiently clear that, as an outfit, they still served him. They were charming to Strether through the hour spent at the Louvre, where indeed they figured for him as an unseparated part of the charged, iridescent air, the glamour of the name, the splendor of the space, the color of the masters. Yet they were present too wherever the young man led, and the day after the visit to the Louvre they hung, in a different walk, about the steps of our party. He had invited his companions to cross the river with him,

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offering to show them his own poor place; and his own poor place, which was very poor, gave to his idiosyncrasies, for Strether—the small sublime indifferences and independences that had struck the latter as fresh—an odd, engaging dignity. He lived at the end of an alley that went out of an old, short, cobbled street, a street that went, in turn, out of a new, long, smooth avenue—street and avenue and alley having, however, in common a sort of social shabbiness; and he introduced them to the rather cold and blank little studio which he had lent to a comrade for the term of his elegant absence. The comrade was another ingenuous compatriot, to whom he had wired that tea was to await them, "regardless"; and this reckless repast, and the second ingenuous compatriot, and the far-away makeshift life, with its jokes and its gaps, its delicate daubs and its three or four chairs, its overflow of taste and conviction and its lack of most all else—these things wove round the occasion a spell to which our hero unreservedly surrendered.

He liked the ingenuous compatriots—for two or three others soon gathered; he liked the delicate daubs and the free discriminations—involving references indeed, involving enthusiasms and execrations that made him, as they said, sit up; he liked, above all, the legend of good-humored poverty, of mutual accommodation fairly raised to the romantic, that he soon read into the scene. The ingenuous compatriots showed a candor, he thought, surpassing even the candor of Woollett; they were red-haired and long-legged, they were quaint and queer and dear and droll; they made the place resound with the vernacular, which he had never known so marked as when figuring for the chosen language, he must suppose, of contemporary art. They twanged, with a vengeance, the æsthetic lyre—they drew from it wonderful airs. This aspect of their life had an admirable innocence; and he looked, on occasion, at Maria Gostrey, to see to what extent that element reached her. She gave him, however, for the hour, as she had given him the previous day, no further sign than to show how she dealt with boys; meeting them with the air of old Parisian practice that she had for every one, for everything in turn. Wonderful about the delicate daubs, masterful about the way to make tea, trustful about the legs of chairs and familiarly reminiscent of those, in the other time, the named, the numbered or the caricatured, who had flourished or failed, disappeared or arrived, she had accepted with the best grace her second course of little Bilham, and had said to Strether, the previous afternoon, on his leaving them, that, since her impression was to be renewed, she would reserve judgment till after the new evidence.

The new evidence was to come, as it proved, in a day or two. He soon had from Maria a message to the effect that an excellent box at the Français had been lent her for the following night; it seeming on such occasions not the least of her merits that she was subject to such approaches. The sense of how she was, in advance, always paying for something was equalled, on Strether's part, only

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by the sense of how she was always being paid; all of which made for his consciousness, in the larger air, of a lively, bustling traffic, the exchange of such values as were not for him to handle. She hated, he knew, at the French play, anything but a box—just as she hated at the English anything but a stall; and a box was what he was already, in this phase, girding himself to press upon her. But she had, for that matter, her resemblance to little Bilham: she too, always, on the great issues, showed as having known in time. It made her constantly beforehand with him and gave him mainly the chance to ask himself how on the day of their settlement their account would stand. He endeavored even now to keep it a little straight by arranging that if he accepted her invitation she should dine with him first; but the upshot of this scruple was that at eight o'clock on the morrow he awaited her with Waymarsh under the pillared portico. She had not dined with him, and it was characteristic of their relation that she had made him embrace her refusal without in the least understanding it. She ever caused her rearrangements to affect him as her tenderest touches. It was on that principle, for instance, that, giving him the opportunity to be amiable again to little Bilham, she had suggested his offering the young man a seat in their box. Strether had despatched, to this end, a small blue missive to the Boulevard Malesherbes, but up to the moment of their passing into the theatre he had received no response to this communication. He held, however, even after they had been for some time conveniently seated, that their friend, who knew his way about, would come in at his own right moment. His temporary absence, moreover, seemed, as never yet, to make the right moment for Miss Gostrey. Strether had been waiting till to-night to get back from her in some mirrored form her impressions and conclusions. She had elected, as they said, to see little Bilham once; but now she had seen him twice and had nevertheless not said more than a word.

Waymarsh meanwhile sat opposite him, with their hostess between; and Miss Gostrey spoke of herself as an instructor of youth introducing her little charges to a work that was one of the glories of literature. The glory was happily unobjectionable, and the little charges were candid; for herself, she had travelled that road and she merely waited on their innocence. But she referred in due time to their absent friend, whom it was clear they should have to give up. "He either won't have got your note," she said, "or you won't have got his: he has had some kind of hindrance, and, of course, for that matter, you know, a man never writes about coming to a box." She spoke as if, with her look, it might have been Waymarsh who had written to the youth, and the latter's face showed a mixture of austerity and anguish. She went on, however, as if to meet this. "He's far and away, you know, the best of them."

"The best of whom, ma'am?"

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"Why, of all the long procession—the boys, the girls, or the old men and old women as they sometimes really are; the hope, as one may say, of our country. They've all passed, year after year; but there has been no one in particular I've ever wanted to stop. I feel—don't *you?*—that I want to stop little Bilham; he's so exactly right as he is." She continued to talk to Waymarsh. "He's too delightful. If he'll only not spoil it! But they always *will;* they always do; they always have."

"I don't think Waymarsh knows," Strether said after a moment, "quite what it's open to Bilham to spoil."

"It can't be a good American," Waymarsh lucidly enough replied; "for it didn't strike me the young man had developed much in *that* shape."

"Ah," Miss Gostrey sighed, "the name of the good American is as easily given as taken away! What *is* it, to begin with, to *be* one, and what's the extraordinary hurry? Surely nothing that's so pressing was ever so little defined. It's such an order, really, that before we cook you the dish we must at least have your receipt. Besides, the poor chicks have time! What I've seen so often spoiled," she pursued, "is the happy attitude itself, the state of faith and—what shall I call it?—the sense of beauty. You're right about him"—she now took in Strether; "little Bilham has them to a charm; we must keep little Bilham along." Then she was all again for Waymarsh. "The others have all wanted so dreadfully to do something, and they've gone and done it, in too many cases, indeed. It leaves them never the same afterwards; the charm is always somehow broken. Now *he,* I think, you know, really won't. He won't do the least dreadful little thing. We shall continue to enjoy him just as he is. No—he's quite beautiful. He sees everything. He isn't a bit ashamed. He has every scrap of the courage of it that one could ask. Only think what he *might* do. One wants really—for fear of some accident—to keep him in view. At this very moment, perhaps, what mayn't he be up to? I've had my disappointments—the poor things are never really safe; or only, at least, when you have them under your eye. One can never completely trust them. One is uneasy, and I think that's why I most miss him now."

She had wound up with a laugh of enjoyment over her embroidery of her idea—an enjoyment that her face communicated to Strether, who almost wished, none the less, at this moment, that she would let poor Waymarsh alone. *He* knew more or less what she meant; but the fact was not a reason for her not pretending to Waymarsh that he didn't. It was craven of him perhaps, but he would, for the high amenity of the occasion, have liked Waymarsh not to be so sure of his wit. Her recognition of it gave him away and, before she had done with him or with that article, would give him worse. What was he, all the same, to do? He looked across the box at his friend; their eyes met; something queer and stiff,

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something that bore on the situation, but that it was better not to touch, passed in silence between them. Well, the effect of it for Strether was an abrupt reaction, a final impatience of his own tendency to temporize. Where was that taking him anyway? It was one of the quiet instants that sometimes settle more matters than the outbreaks dear to the historic muse. The only qualification of the quietness was the synthetic "Oh hang it!" into which Strether's share of the silence soundlessly flowered. It represented, this mute ejaculation, a final impulse to burn his ships. These ships, to the historic muse, may seem of course mere cockles, but when he presently spoke to Miss Gostrey it was with the sense at least of applying the torch. "Is it then a conspiracy?"

"Between the two young men? Well, I don't pretend to be a seer or a prophetess," she presently replied; "but if I'm simply a woman of sense he's working for you to-night. I don't quite know how—but it's in my bones." And she looked at him at last as if, little material as she yet gave him, he would really understand. "For an opinion, *that's* my opinion. He makes you out too well not to."

"Not to work for me to-night?" Strether wondered. "Then I hope he isn't doing anything very bad."

"They've got you," she portentously answered.

"Do you mean he *is*—?"

"They've got you," she merely repeated. Though she disclaimed the prophetic vision she was at this instant the nearest approach he had ever met to the priestess of the oracle. The light was in her eyes. "You must face it now."

He faced it on the spot. "They *had* arranged—?"

"Every move in the game. And they've been arranging ever since. He has had every day his little telegram from Cannes."

It made Strether open his eyes. "Do you *know* that?"

"I do better. I see it. This was what I wondered, before I met him, if I *was* to see. But as soon as I met him I ceased to wonder, and our second meeting made me sure. I took him all in. He was acting—he is still—on his daily instructions."

"So that Chad has done the whole thing?"

"Oh no—not the whole. *We've* done some of it. You and I and 'Europe.'"

"Europe—yes," Strether mused.

"Dear old Paris," she seemed to explain. But there was more, and, with one of her turns, she risked it. "And dear old Waymarsh. You," she declared, "have been a good bit of it."

He sat massive. "A good bit of what, ma'am?"

"Why, of the wonderful consciousness of our friend here. You've helped too, in your way, to float him to where he is."

"And where the devil *is* he?"

She passed it on with a laugh. "Where the devil, Strether, are you?"

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He spoke as if he had just been thinking it out. "Well, quite, already, in Chad's hands, it would seem." And he had had, with this, another thought. "Will that be—just all through Bilham—the way he's going to work it? It would be, for him, you know, an idea. And Chad with an idea—!"

"Well?" she asked while the image held him.

"Well, is Chad—what shall I say?—monstrous?"

"Oh, as much as you like! But the idea you speak of," she said, "won't have been his best. He'll have a better. It won't be all through little Bilham that he'll work it."

This already sounded almost like a hope destroyed. "Through whom else then?"

"That's what we shall see!" But quite as she spoke she turned, and Strether turned; for the door of the box had opened, with the click of the *ouvreuse,* from the lobby, and a gentleman, a stranger to them, had come in with a quick step. The door closed behind him, and, though their faces showed him his mistake, his air, which was striking, was all good confidence. The curtain had just again risen, and, in the hush of the general attention, Strether's challenge was tacit, as was also the greeting, with a quick, deprecating hand and smile, of the unannounced visitor. He signed, discreetly, that he would wait, would stand, and these things, and his face, one look from which she had caught, had suddenly worked for Miss Gostrey. She fitted to them all an answer for Strether's last question. The solid stranger was simply the answer—as she now, turning to her friend, indicated. She brought it straight out for him—it presented the intruder. "Why, through this gentleman!" The gentleman indeed, at the same time, though sounding for Strether a very short name, did practically as much to explain. Strether gasped the name back—then only had he seen. Miss Gostrey had said more than she knew. They were in presence of Chad himself.

Our friend was to go over it afterwards again and again—he was going over it much of the time that they were together, and they were together, constantly, for three or four days: the note had been so strongly struck during that first half-hour that everything happening since was comparatively a minor development. The fact was that his perception of the young man's identity—so absolutely checked for a minute—had been quite one of the sensations that count in life; he certainly had never known one that had acted, as he might have said, with more of a crowded rush. And the rush, though both vague and multitudinous, had lasted a long time, protected, as it were, yet at the same time aggravated, by the circumstance of its coinciding with a stretch of decorous silence. They couldn't talk without disturbing the spectators in the part of the balcony just below them; and it, for that matter, came to Strether—being a thing of the sort that did come to him—that these were the accidents of a high civilization; the imposed tribute

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to propriety, the frequent exposure to conditions, usually brilliant, in which relief has to await its time. Relief was never quite near at hand for kings, queens, comedians and other such people, and though you might be yourself not exactly one of those, you could yet, in leading the life of high pressure, guess a little how they sometimes felt. It was truly the life of high pressure that Strether had seemed to feel himself leading while he sat there, close to Chad, during the long tension of the act. He was in presence of a fact that occupied his whole mind, that occupied for the half-hour his senses themselves all together; but he couldn't without inconvenience show anything—which moreover might count really as luck. What he might have shown, had he shown at all, was exactly the kind of emotion—the emotion of bewilderment—that he had proposed to himself from the first, whatever should occur, to show least. The phenomenon that had suddenly sat down there with him was a phenomenon of change so complete that his imagination, which had worked so beforehand, felt itself, in the connection, without margin or allowance. It had faced every contingency but that Chad should not *be* Chad, and this was what it now had to face with a mere strained smile and an uncomfortable flush.

He asked himself if, by any chance, before he should have in some way to commit himself, he might feel his mind settled to the new vision, might habituate it, so to speak, to the remarkable truth. But oh, it was too remarkable, the truth; for what could be more remarkable than this sharp rupture of an identity? You could deal with a man as himself—you couldn't deal with him as somebody else. It was a small source of peace, moreover, to be reduced to wondering how little he might know in such an event what a sum he was setting you. He couldn't absolutely not know, for you couldn't absolutely not let him. It was a *case* then, simply, a strong case, as people nowadays called such things, a case of transformation unsurpassed, and the hope was but in the general law that strong cases were liable to control from without. Perhaps he, Strether himself, was the only person, after all, aware of it. Even Miss Gostrey, with all her science, wouldn't be, would she?—and he had never seen any one less aware of anything than Waymarsh as he glowered at Chad. The social sightlessness of his old friend's survey marked for him afresh, and almost in an humiliating way, the inevitable limits of direct aid from this source. He was not certain, however, of not drawing a shade of compensation from the privilege, as yet untasted, of knowing more about something in particular than Miss Gostrey did. His situation too was a case, for that matter, and he was now so interested, quite so privately agog, about it, that he had already an eye to the fun it would be to open up to her afterwards. He derived, during his half-hour, no assistance from her, and just this fact of her not meeting his eyes played a little, it must be confessed, into his predicament.

He had introduced Chad, in the first minutes, under his breath,

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and there was never the primness in her of the person unacquainted; but she had none the less, for a long time, no eyes but for the stage, where she occasionally found a pretext for an appreciative moment that she invited Waymarsh to share. The latter's faculty of participation had never had, all round, such an assault to meet; the pressure on him being the sharper for this chosen attitude, on her part, as Strether judged it, of isolating, for their natural intercourse, Chad and himself. This intercourse was meanwhile restricted to a frank, friendly look from the young man, something markedly like a smile, but falling far short of a grin, and to the vivacity of Strether's private speculation as to whether *he* carried himself like the fool. He didn't quite see how he could so feel as one without somehow showing as one. The worst of that question moreover was that he knew it as a symptom the sense of which annoyed him. "If I'm going to be odiously conscious of how I may strike the fellow," he reflected, "it was so little what I came out for that I may as well stop before I begin." This sage consideration too, distinctly, seemed to leave untouched the fact that he *was* going to be conscious. He was conscious of everything but of what would have served him.

He was to know afterwards, in the watches of the night, that nothing would have been more open to him than, after a minute or two, to propose to Chad to pass out with him to the lobby. He had not only not proposed it, but had lacked even the presence of mind to see it as possible. He had stuck there like a schoolboy wishing not to miss a minute of the show; though for that portion of the show then presented he had not had an instant's real attention. He could not when the curtain fell have given the slightest account of what had happened. He had therefore, further, not at that moment acknowledged the amenity added by this acceptance of his awkwardness to Chad's general patience. Hadn't he none the less known at the very time—known it stupidly and without reaction—that the boy was accepting something? He was modestly benevolent, the boy—that was at least what he had been capable of, the superiority of making out his chance to be; and one had one's self literally not had the gumption to get in ahead of him. If we should go into all that occupied our friend in the watches of the night we should have to mend our pen; but an instance or two may mark for us the vividness with which he could remember. He remembered the two absurdities that, if his presence of mind *had* failed, were the things that had had most to do with it. He had never in his life seen a young man come into a box at ten o'clock at night, and would, if challenged on the question in advance, scarce have been ready to pronounce as to different ways of doing so; but it was, in spite of this, definite to him that Chad had had a way that was wonderful: a fact carrying with it an implication that, as one might imagine it, he knew, he had learned, how.

Here already then were abounding results; he had, on the spot,

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and without the least trouble of intention, taught Strether that, even in so small a thing as that, there were different ways. He had done, in the same line, still more than this; had, by a mere shake or two of the head, made his old friend observe that the change in him was perhaps more than anything else, for the eye, a matter of the marked streaks of gray, extraordinary at his age, in his thick black hair; as well as that this new feature was curiously becoming to him, did something for him, as characterization, also even—of all things in the world—as refinement, that had been a good deal wanted. Strether felt, however, he would have had to confess, that it would not have been easy just now, on this and other counts, in the presence of what had been supplied, to be quite clear as to what had been missed. A reflection a candid critic might have made of old, for instance, was that it would have been happier for the son to look more like the mother; but this was a reflection that at present would never occur. The ground had quite fallen away from it, yet no resemblance whatever to the mother had supervened. It would have been hard for a young man's face and air to disconnect themselves more completely than Chad's at this juncture from any discerned, from any imaginable aspect of a New England female parent. That of course was no more than had been on the cards; but it produced in Strether, none the less, one of those frequent phenomena of mental reference with which all judgment in him was actually beset.

Again and again, as the days passed, he had had a sense of the pertinence of communicating quickly with Woollett—communicating with a quickness with which telegraphy alone would rhyme; the fruit, really, of a fine fancy in him for keeping things straight, for the happy forestallment of error. No one could explain better when needful, nor put more conscience into an account or a report; which burden of conscience is perhaps exactly the reason why his heart always sank when the clouds of explanation gathered. His highest ingenuity was in keeping the sky of life clear of them. Whether or no he had a grand idea of the lucid, he held that nothing ever was in fact—for any one else—explained. One went through the vain motions, but it was mostly a waste of life. A personal relation was a relation only so long as people either perfectly understood or, better still, didn't care if they didn't. From the moment they cared if they didn't it was living by the sweat of one's brow; and the sweat of one's brow was just what one might buy one's self off from by keeping the ground free of the wild weed of delusion. It easily grew too fast, and the Atlantic cable now alone could race with it. That agency would, each day, have testified for him to something that was not what Woollett had argued. He was not, at this moment, absolutely sure that the effect of the morrow's—or rather of the night's—appreciation of the crisis wouldn't be to determine some brief missive. "Have at last seen him, but oh dear!" —some temporary relief of that sort seemed to hover before him.

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It hovered somehow as preparing them all—yet preparing them for what? If he might do so more luminously and cheaply he would tick out in four words: "Awfully old—gray hair." To this particular item in Chad's appearance he constantly, during their mute half-hour, reverted; as if so very much more than he could have said had been involved in it. The most he could have said would have been: "If he's going to make me feel young—!" which indeed, however, carried with it quite enough. If Strether was to feel young, that is, it would be because Chad was to feel old; and an aged and hoary sinner had been no part of the scheme.

The question of Chadwick's true time of life was, doubtless, what came up quickest after the adjournment of the two, when the play was over, to a café in the Avenue de l'Opéra. Miss Gostrey had, on the spot, been perfect for such a step; she had known exactly what they wanted—to go straight somewhere and talk; and Strether had even felt that she had known what he wished to say and that he was arranging immediately to begin. She had not pretended this, as she *had* pretended, on the other hand, that she had divined Waymarsh's wish to extend to her, homeward, an independent protection; but Strether nevertheless found how, after he had Chad opposite to him at a small table in the brilliant halls that his companion straightway selected, sharply and easily discriminated from others, it was quite, to his mind, as if she heard him speak; as if, sitting up, a mile away, in the little apartment he knew, she would listen hard enough to catch. He found too that he liked that idea, and he wished that, by the same token, Mrs. Newsome might have caught as well. For what had above all been determined in him as a necessity of the first order was not to lose another hour, nor a fraction of one; was to advance, to overwhelm, with a rush. This was how he would anticipate—by a night-attack, as might be—any forced maturity that a crammed consciousness of Paris was likely to take upon itself to assert on behalf of the boy. He knew, to the full, on what he had just extracted from Miss Gostrey, Chad's marks of alertness; but they were a reason the more for not dawdling. If he was himself moreover to be treated as young, he wouldn't at all events be so treated before he should have struck out at least once. His arms might be pinioned afterwards, but it would have been left on record that he was fifty. The importance of this he had indeed begun to feel before they left the theatre; it had become a wild unrest, urging him to seize his chance. He could scarcely wait for it as they went; he was on the verge of the indecency of bringing up the question in the street; he fairly caught himself as going on—so he afterwards invidiously named it—as if there would be for him no second chance should the present be lost. Not till, on the purple divan before the perfunctory *bock,* he had brought out the words themselves, was he sure, for that matter, that the present would be saved.

(To be continued.)

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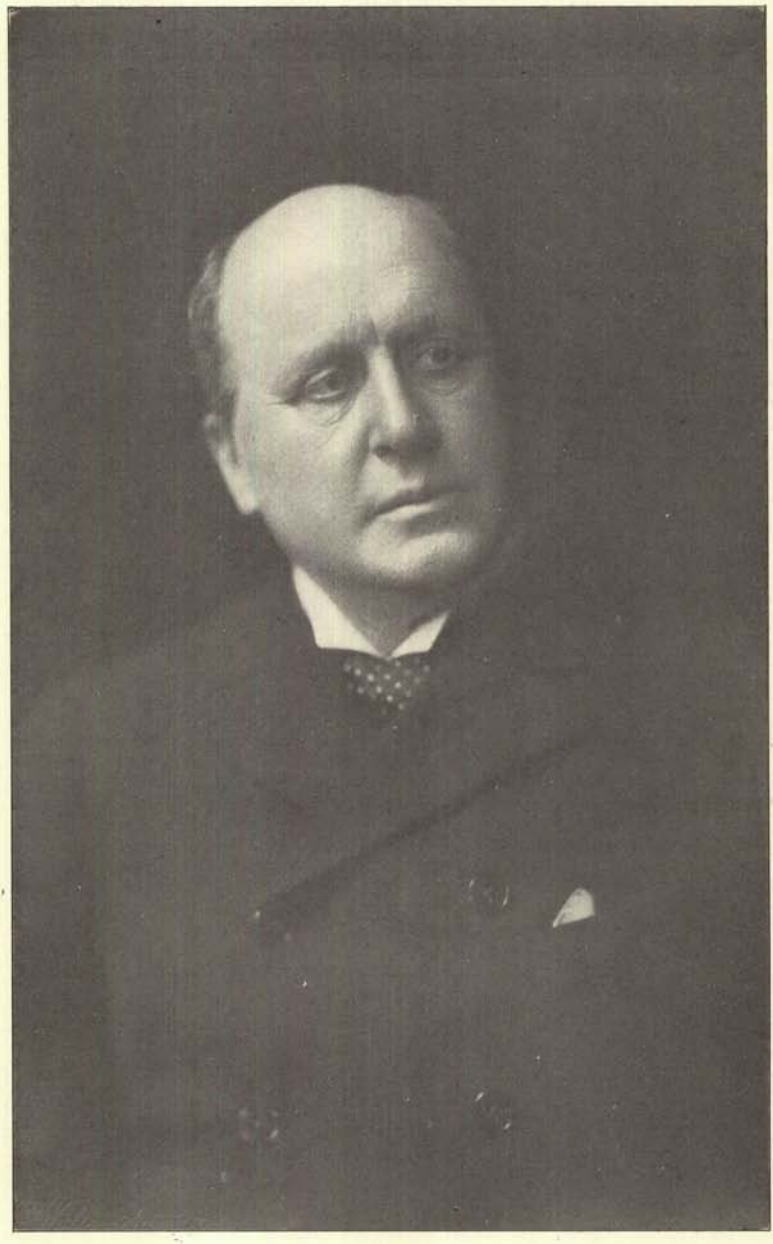

HENRY JAMES

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